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East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-161
Tuesday
22 August 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-161 *22 August 1989*

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Independent Role of Peoples' Councils Stressed

AU1908203989 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 7 Jul 89 pp 20-26

[Article by Sihat Tozaj, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly: "The Independent Activity of the People's Councils—A Requirement of the Times in Resolving Problems"]

[Excerpts] The consolidation, democratization, and revolutionization of the people's power has accompanied all the processes of the country's socialist construction. The party's efforts to protect it against the dangerous malaises of bureaucracy and liberalism has always been and remains one of the guarantees that it will be further consolidated and perfected at all levels, remaining inviolate as power in the hands of the people.

The organs of the people's power, from the center to the base, are working and leading with a broader horizon and with a more complete knowledge and authority. This is due to the party's guiding role, which is an absolute necessity for the very existence and development of the people's power. The party forums in the districts, the committee bureaus and basic organizations, are doing better work in leading and guiding the work of the district executive committees and people's councils, the people's councils in the united villages, in the villages, cities, and city quarters, demanding that they be informed about their work, helping them to carry out more profound analyses, to tackle and follow up the more important problems, so they can carry out their duties in conformity with the laws and, on the basis of their authority, so they can resolve the problems of the economy, education and culture, defense, and so forth. This solicitude of the party organs and organizations has made it possible to constantly raise and consolidate the role and authority of the power organs, in general, and of the people's councils, in particular.

In the efforts to raise the role and authority of the power organs, including primarily the people's councils, the constant aim has been and continues to be to make certain that the best, more capable, and more devoted elements, those who always prepared to serve the people honestly and loyally, are brought into these organs. This solicitude was clearly and forcefully reflected also in the campaign for the 7 May elections for the people's councils and people's courts. As always, the people, enjoying full and broad democracy, discussed and threshed out opinions on the selection and election of candidates for council members. The social organizations, the Youth Union, the Women's Union, the Trade Unions, and the veterans' organizations selected their best members as candidates, and their candidacies were discussed by the people. The electors thus approved as candidates for council members the best of the best, presented by the Democratic Front Organization. The 43,000 council members elected in the 7 May elections, which were a brilliant victory of the party's correct line, were selected following a discussion of the merits and the examination of 130,000 candidates who, in their turn, had been selected out of an even larger number of individuals proposed by the Democratic Front and by the people directly. In Fier District, for example, the candidacies of more than 6,600 individuals proposed for the people's councils at various levels were examined, out of which 2,304 were then elected.

Over 50 percent of the council members were elected for the first time. Sixty-one percent are under 35 years of age and about 68 percent have had secondary and higher education. These and other indicators are a testimony of the obvious rejuvenation and improvement in the composition of the people's councils in recent elections. In addition, the constant election of new and young members has made it possible for an increasingly larger number of citizens to acquaint themselves with the work of the people's councils, with the problems examined and resolved by them, to acquaint themselves with the tasks and rights of elected representatives, to penetrate into the essence of the great questions concerning the state and the people, and to learn how to govern. [passage omitted]

Independent action in the working methods of the people's councils arises as an absolute necessity in confronting the growing tasks of all branches of the economy and the problems arising from our rapid socioeconomic development. Acting independently means tackling problems efficiently and quickly. This, however, requires a proper knowledge of the authority vested in councils and their members, as well as of the problems and the requirements and complaints of the people. On the basis of this knowledge, able council members and the councils as a whole, being close to the preoccupations and concerns of all the people, will really play their full role. This efficient method, as has been shown in practice by the experience gained, makes council members operative and the people's councils gain authority and are able to increasingly better resolve economic tasks and the requirements and complaints of the citizens.

The party insists that the activity of the people's councils should seethe with debates in order to obtain the most correct and efficient solutions to various problems, that criticism and self-criticism should become more lively, that internal control be strengthened, that ties with the masses be forged, and that the direct control of the latter over the activity carried out by the councils be further stimulated. This is achieved through a constant effort concerning the juridical and professional training of council members.

Considerable experience has been gained in this. There are numerous forms intended for this purpose, including seminars on the authority of councils and their members, meetings at which the advanced experience of councils and their members is made known, courses attended by

council chairmen, and so forth. All these, experience has shown, are efficient ways of raising the professional abilities of council members. [passage omitted]

Involving all members in the work of the councils is an absolute necessity in strengthening the people's councils. When relying on the efforts of only a few individuals, the activity of the councils cannot be really efficient and it cannot tackle and resolve all problems, as the law requires. [passage omitted]

The constant participation of the masses in the country's government, placing the activity of the councils under the constant supervision of the control organs, and their constant accountability are important ways of strengthening the power organs.

The party teaches us that these organs carry out their functions relying at all times on the working masses and retaining close ties with them, because they themselves represent the masses. The periodical elevation of the role of the people's councils and their improved organization and management must be based precisely on the extensive participation of the people in resolving state problems and on increasingly closer and daily ties with the people. Consulting the people, listening to what they have to say, and accountability to the people for the activity carried out are norms stipulated by the law, and the people's councils are adhering increasingly more closely to these norms. They report to the voters periodically, as well as on special problems and questions, are subjected to the criticism of the people concerning their collective activity, as well as the activity of each individual member. When the control of the masses over the activity of councils and their members is constant and strong, things go well and the organizational, managerial, and control activity of the state organs over other organs is more efficient. [passage omitted]

Despite the progress made, however, even more efforts are required. The state organs must be subjected more frequently to the control of the masses and must also account to them more frequently, in constant and forceful struggle against manifestations of formalism in this matter. The law stipulates that meetings between elected representatives and voters should take place every 6 months. However, there is nothing to prevent such meetings from being held more frequently, even with smaller groups of people in the places where council members work and live, in order to listen to the voice of the people and to draw on their ideas on various problems concerning the village or the city quarter. These contacts should be lively, they should serve to improve the work of councils and their members, and should lead to the fulfillment of tasks. This is the way to implement the party line concerning the voice of the masses, by raising their participation in the country's government and by making it increasingly more active.

Negative Consequences of Perestroyka Viewed

AU1908202589 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 7 Jul 89 pp 83-88

[Genc Kondi article: "Social Consequences of Perestroyka"]

[Excerpts] Since climbing to the top of the Soviet power pyramid, Gorbachev and his team have adopted and are carrying out a reform program of an economic, political, and military nature under the slogan of "restructuring" all aspects of the country's life. The essence of this restructuring lies in the transition to a new variant in the capitalist development of Soviet society. The forms and manifestations of this society are assuming gradually and completely the composition and true essence of a capitalist socioeconomic system.

One of the main goals of Gorbachev's reforms is to create an appropriate economic base for the Soviet superpower. Although it is a superpower and one of the major economic powers, the Soviet Union, as is accepted by all, remains a more extensive than intensive, a more quantitative than qualitative economic power. In other words, although it occupies first place with regard to its economic activity in an international context, this is due to the fact that it is an economic and demographic giant, but not from the viewpoint of productivity or any other basic index that determines the genuine economic power of a given country.

The team in power has declared openly that unless it reaches contemporary levels concerning these basic economic indicators, Moscow is in danger of widening the gap that is currently separating it from the more advanced industrial capitalist countries. How is this to be achieved? It is believed that "socialist" garbs have prevented the process of creating a modern, western-type economy in the Soviet Union. As a result of revisionist syllogisms, the conclusion has been reached: Let us follow the same methods, the same road, and let us adopt the same economic instruments used by other capitalist states that have reached a higher level of economic development. In fact, the methods used by the current Kremlin team to achieve its goals are typical of a contemporary capitalist society: a flood of foreign capital, massive privatization in the economy, the creation of joint enterprises on Soviet territory, trampling on collectivization, and accepting the role of kulaks and of the industrial bourgeoisie as being "essential" in socialism, because this is what Lenin supposedly said when he adopted NEP (the New Economic Policy), and so forth.

It is true that a number of capitalist countries have reached high levels of economic development and that this is reflected in their basic economic indicators. However, in conformity with the principles of capitalist societies, this has been done in the interest of the

bourgeoisie and to the detriment of the working masses and, primarily, the proletariat of these countries, by raising the degree of exploitation. [passage omitted]

What are some of the major traits of the social consequences of perestroyka in the Soviet Union?

First of all, Soviet society is becoming even more polarized as a result of perestroyka. The official authorities have currently legalized unemployment, the theory being that "unemployment must stimulate interest in working better, or by labeling the 5-6 million people who are expected to be thrown into the street as a result of the capitalist restructuring of Soviet society during the current 5-year period as "technological surplus. This latter statement has been made by no other than Prime Minister Ryzhkov personally! But if it were a question of genuine technological surplus, a really socialist state would have been thinking even before about transferring these workers to other jobs, instead of throwing them into the street. PRAVDA itself admitted that "no one is interested in the fate of those made redundant," which indicates that we are talking about real and not only potential unemployment. [passage omitted]

Perestroyka has resulted in the further degeneration of moral life, its Western type disintegration, religious revival on a scale unprecedented since the October Revolution, the emergence of nationalist and reactionary organizations, and so forth, at such a fast pace that the Kremlin itself is alarmed. However, the negative trend of social processes in the Soviet Union is such that it can no longer be halted. The further exacerbation of social malaise is the social ransom that Soviet society is compelled to pay for the implementation of an ambitious economic program along paths well known to capitalist societies for the economic consolidation of the power of the bourgeoisie. It is logical to consider that the malaise and negative phenomena that are typical of a capitalist society at the stage of imperialism will be further exacerbated on the road selected by the supporters of perestroyka toward the further consolidation of the capitalist economy.

Innovative Thinking Urged in Defense Concept

AU1808184689 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 13 Aug 89 p 1

[Editorial: "The Country's Defense Requires Constant Development of Innovative Work"]

[Text] Correctly appreciating the great role and importance of innovation in resolving problems pertaining to the consolidation of the country's defense potential, as the party and Comrade Ramiz Alia have stressed, efforts are being made in the Army for the increasingly better utilization of advanced experience; the intellectual potential of cadres, specialists, and young people; and the activity of research and study institutes. Stable achievements have been attained in this process of work and efforts, norms and objectives have been advanced, and the quality and efficiency of leadership and commands have been raised. It must be stressed that some mistaken concepts, according to which "since army work is done on the basis of regulations and norms, there is little that needs to be changed and improved," are being opposed more forcefully. Advanced experience shows that independent action in grasping advanced thinking has provided good results. There are numerous examples of very positive solutions to numerous problems and tasks, including examples of qualified military thinking in all defense structures. However, creative thinking must be viewed from a wider angle in order to continually revolutionize the entire training process, the consolidation of military readiness, and so forth. This is one of the important goals in mastering the demands of the Military Art of the People's Warfare and in implementing it with discipline and scientific methodology.

All of the people are incorporated in the defense structures of our socialist country. Therefore, not only the corps of active cadres and specialists, but also the reserve cadres and specialized institutions represent a great potential. The question is how to make even better use of this potential. Under present conditions, when military thinking and tactics change and improve daily, it is necessary to keep up with such changes constantly, and this cannot be done without stimulating new and advanced military thinking. Complacency in this matter must be eradicated. Routine work in analyzes, studies, reports, and information must be eliminated. Experience shows that not a few staff commanders, specialists, and other military personnel, visit military units regularly. However, there is still too much routine thinking and a lack of creative and imaginative solutions.

Owing to the fact that creative thinking, debate, and scientific experimentation are conducted properly, norms and targets have been improved, and the level of training and combat readiness have been raised. For example, in some services where shortcomings were previously observed in the maintenance of the equipment, improvements have been noticed as a result of measures undertaken. Some garrisons in Korce, Tropoje, Lac, Gjirokaster, and so forth have correctly resolved problems pertaining to the improvement of living quarters by opposing routine, conservative thinking, as well as through better collaboration with comrades in the field. Better results have been attained in improving training equipment and in physical training as a result of creative thinking. Conservative concepts have been changed. New training methods have been introduced successfully, making various activities more interesting even in difficult climatic conditions and terrain. However, there are problems which require broader and more creative thinking, such as the harmonization of various theoretical and practical disciplines, their contents and methods, moral and psychological problems pertaining to the ideopolitical training of personnel at all levels, up to the "Enver Hoxha" Higher Joint Officers School and the Military Academy.

These are problems of considerable importance requiring dynamism and agility, but also persistence on the part of cadres and specialists, from the base up to the central departments. Above all else, they require more qualitative efforts and leadership by the party organs and organizations. In this context, the perfecting of study and research work remains an important element. The thinking of specialists and of the research and study institutions is another important element. The military schools and those who are charged with scientific and research work in the field are also required to improve their work in constant opposition to routine thinking and complacency. Greater efforts are therefore required from the party organizations, cadres, commands, and military staffs. Moreover, a more concrete and stimulating propaganda effort is required, as well as improved organization and a higher degree of stringent and comprehensive control at all levels.

Korce District Briefs Alia on Wheat Harvest
AU1908202689

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 19 August reports in its regular newscast that the Korce District Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Committee Bureau has informed Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, that an average yield of 35.4 quintals per hectare of wheat was harvested over the entire acreage of 18,572 hectares, which is 1.4 quintals per hectare over the plan. Although about 400 hectares remain to be harvested in the mountain areas, the wheat production plan has already been fulfilled by 101.7 percent, with an excess production of 11,400 quintals. The wheat delivery plan to the state has been fulfilled 100 percent.

An average yield of 54.4 quintals per hectare was harvested over a total acreage of 7,541 hectares in the plains area; average yields of 63 quintals per hectare were harvested in this same area, over an acreage of 4,113 hectares.

The excellent results achieved in wheat production, as well as some other crops, have made it possible to increase the advance payment of cooperative members by 10 million leks, introducing the new remuneration system for the brigades that have fulfilled and overfulfilled their respective targets.

Leaders Public Appearances for 12-18 Aug
AU1808160989

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 12-18 August reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time, date of report given in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly received the president of the National Assembly of Algeria on 14 August. (1800 GMT 14 Aug 89)

Hajredin Celiku, AWP Politburo member and minister of communications attended a meeting of transportation sector workers in Elbasan on 12 August. (1800 GMT 12 Aug 89)

Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, received Mother Theresa of Calcutta on 16 August. (1800 GMT 16 Aug 89)

Reaction to Turkish Closure of Border Reported

BTA Announcement of Decision

AU2108115389 Sofia BTA in English
1118 GMT 21 Aug 89

["Announcement of the BTA"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 21 (BTA)—This morning, in its information transmission, the Voice of Turkey Radio announced that the Council of Ministers of Turkey, chaired by Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, had adopted a decision by which the receipt of all Bulgarian citizens—descendents of Islamized Bulgarians who are willing to visit Turkey—is to be stopped as of August 22, 1989, 02:00 hrs. The valis of the border-area districts have been given instructions concerning the decision. This morning, at about 04:00 hrs., the head of the Kapikule Border Checkpoint informed the head of the Kapitan Andreevo Border Checkpoint that the receipt of Bulgarian citizens is to be stopped as of August 22, 1989, 00:00 hrs at all checkpoints along the frontier between Bulgaria and Turkey.

The decision of Turkey was made unilaterally and it is absolutely contrary to all former reiterated statements of the Turkish authorities that they would ensure the unobstructed receipt of all Bulgarian citizens who wish to visit Turkey.

'Vigorous Action' To Be Taken

AU2108173289 Sofia BTA in English
1658 GMT 21 Aug 89

["In the Wake of the Turkish Government Decision"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 21 (BTA)—In connection with the decision of the Turkish Government to unilaterally suspend the admission of Bulgarian citizens to Turkey, Bulgaria is taking vigorous action to help those who have already started for the border.

The ambassador of the Republic of Turkey in Sofia was summoned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs today, and his attention was called to the fact that several thousand motor cars carrying Bulgarian citizens on their way to Turkey have been settled in temporary camps near the Kapitan Andreevo and the Malko Turnovo checkpoints on the Bulgaro-Turkish border and at temporary sites in the interior. The unexpected decision of the Turkish Government places these travellers in an exceedingly harsh predicament.

The Turkish side was called upon to take appropriate action on humanitarian grounds for the unobstructed admission of the citizens who have started their journey relying on Turkey's declared readiness to keep its border open.

The Bulgarian ambassador in Ankara has been instructed to make representations to the same end.

The Bulgarian border control authorities have raised the same matter with the Turkish border control authorities.

Protest Meetings Held

AU2108185189 Sofia BTA in English
1736 GMT 21 Aug 89

["Slanders and Instigations Condemned"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 21 (BTA)—At meetings held in the Shumen municipality today, the participants expressed mass protest against Turkey's provocations against Bulgaria. The workers of the two largest companies in the municipality, Madara and Alumina, condemned Turkey's instigating policy and its attempts to keep up tensions in Bulgaria.

At rallies in the villages of Belokopitovo, Ivanski, Gradishte and Tsarev Brod, the farm labourers expressed their conviction that they will overcome the difficulties affecting production as a result of the mass departure of Bulgarian citizens for Turkey.

Mass meetings were also held in the area of Silistra. The people expressed support for the Bulgarian Government's consistent policy of peace, understanding and cooperation with all states. In telegrams sent to the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and to the State Council it is emphasized that the policy pursued by the ruling circles in Turkey is intended to deflect their own people [word indistinct] from the serious domestic problems and to get Bulgaria into political, economic and social trouble.

The working people in Zlatograd declared that no one has a right to meddle in Bulgaria's internal affairs. At a meeting today Mr Emil Saraliyski, a fitter at the Delyu Voyvoda Mechanical Works, said: "This is not the first time that Bulgaria has opened her border to Turkey, and now she is doing so in full harmony with the humanitarian climate of Europe."

Turkey's decision to close its border was assessed as yet another attempt to foment discontent among Muslim Bulgarians. "Many of them used to work in our municipality," the people of Zlatograd regretted to say. "Those who cannot leave now will want to get back their jobs without taking the consequences laid down by the labour code. Isn't this irresponsible?"

National Press Comments

AU2208083889 Sofia BTA in English
0753 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Sofia, August 22 (BTA)—The national press today comments extensively on the Turkish Government's decision to halt the arrival of Bulgarian citizens in Turkey.

"This decision debunked a myth which has been persistently propagated by the stage managers of the anti-Bulgarian propaganda: that Turkey is the 'mother country', the real homeland of Muslim Bulgarians," writes RABOTNICHESKO DELO in its editorial.

The paper indicates that this decision shows the real worth of the assurances of Turkish politicians, Prime Minister Ozal included, that Turkey is prepared to accept all Muslim Bulgarians who would like to visit that country for a shorter or a longer stay. "To those who mastermind and carry out the unprecedented anti-Bulgarian campaign, these people are merely pawns in a dirty political game," the newspaper writes.

It is recalled that Turkish propaganda has made persistent and not entirely unsuccessful efforts to inculcate in part of Muslim Bulgarians the illusion that they are welcome in Turkey, that the good life is in store for them there, that they would be the most welcome guests. Reality proved to be totally different, and quite a few of the travellers soon realized this.

The Turkish Government's latest decision to close its border to Bulgarian citizens proves the hypocrisy and the instigation of the Turkish mass media and of the Turkish officials who used to claim that unobstructed admission will be secured for all Muslim Bulgarians who would like to visit Turkey.

The homeland of these people is here, it is Bulgaria, writes RABOTNICHESKO DELO. The Turkish Government's decision confirms this. No country in the world would claim that it is somebody's homeland while closing its borders to them.

According to RABOTNICHESKO DELO, Ankara's latest step will undoubtedly disappoint the Bulgarian citizens who had made arrangements and were waiting for the day of their departure for Turkey. Still, the decision would remove the scales from those fellow Bulgarians' eyes and would enable them to judge for themselves who invades their rights.

"Bulgaria takes a clear stand. Bulgaria does not pay lip service to the accords written in the Viennese concluding document, she takes specific action for the realization of the Bulgarian citizens' right to freely leave their country and to return to their country. As to the real problems in Bulgaro-Turkish relations, both the ones inherited from the past and the newly arisen ones, Bulgaria is ready to discuss them at all levels, proceeding from international relations and from the fact that the two countries are neighbours. There is a single condition for this: that the negotiations be held without preconditions, that no unilateral moves be undertaken such as the Turkish Government's latest decision which escalate tensions and cause additional difficulties," RABOTNICHESKO DELO writes.

TRUD recalls the irresponsible and egoistical, as it is evident now, propaganda which Turkey has been carrying out against Bulgaria over the last few months. The idea was apparently to justify the slander that Bulgaria is driving out its Muslim citizens. Turkey promised them jobs, housing, land and arranged for them fussy welcoming ceremonies. At international forums the Turkish delegates circulated all sorts of fabrications on a barbarian treatment, on deliberate infections, on despoliation.... The Bulgarian people watched in bewilderment thousands of blinded people abandon their affluence, their wealthy homes, their well-paid jobs, the marvellous conditions for their children's education and take a leap in the dark. "Now the truth has flashed like a lightning. The deceit has been exposed, but what about the deceived?" TRUD writes.

The article says that Bulgaria has not forced anybody to leave. On the contrary, the Bulgarian authorities and the Bulgarian public have spared no effort to assert that Muslim Bulgarians are an inseparable part of the Bulgarian national family. Those who turned their backs on their native parts to seek an illusory new life have greatly chagrined us. The Bulgarian people, however, has lived through greater hardships than this and is ready to forgive an ingratitude resulting from a provocation.

The paper observes that present-day Turkey is obviously not in a position to secure the hospitality it promised, due to its grave domestic problems.

The commentary says that now Turkey will probably want to negotiate about an emigrant status for the Muslim Bulgarians. Some time ago, however, it was precisely Turkey which refused to negotiate. Besides, Bulgaria does not have spare people for resettlement because she values all her citizens, both Christians and Muslims. If anyone wants to avail himself of the liberal foreign travel regulations, it is a matter of his personal choice, provided another country offers him the appropriate hospitality. Some of the Bulgarian citizens who have left for Turkey return if they can. They tell terrible things about the conditions under which they have lived there for a couple of months or less. In Bulgaria they regain their jobs and everything which they had before their departure. "Only that they will keep lifelong memories of having squandered in days what they had been saving in years," TRUD writes.

According to ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME, it would be naive to assume that the Turkish leadership, seized with the raptures of Pan-Turkism, would easily and soon give up its attempts to pressure Bulgaria and to interfere in her internal affairs. "How long would it take for political realism to prevail and for Ankara to realize that Bulgaria has long ceased to be a province of the Ottoman empire, that she is an independent and sovereign state?" The newspaper asks.

Citizens Mistreated in Turkey

AU2108142089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Aug 89 p 2

[Nikolay Golemanov report: "Shall We Call This 'Formalities'?"]

[Excerpts] The police authorities at the Kapikule border checkpoint, opposite Kapitan Andreevo, are apparently irritated by Bulgarian Muslims who are returning from Turkey to their motherland. This irritation is expressed by various obstacles, delays, insults, and frequent use of violence. [passage omitted]

Filip Filipov, citizen of the Bosna Village, Svilengrad region, who returned on 15 August by train, said to me at the Svilengrad train station that about 80 persons wishing to return had waited at the Kapikule railroad platform. The Turkish authorities, saying that there was no room, allowed only 30 persons to return. Only two families arrived on 16 August. [passage omitted]

Blagovest Tsvetkov, age 24 from Tutrakan, who arrived with his car in the afternoon of 15 August, together with his wife and child, was obviously relieved ("We are finally in the motherland"). He spoke at length about the difficulties in Turkey and the bad conditions in the tent camp near the Edirne train station.

He also had difficulties at the Kapikule border checkpoint. For more than 1 month he tried to retrieve his passport from the authorities, and succeeded only after the intervention of a "minister from Ankara," who came to visit the camp. The passport harassment resumed at the border.

"Finally, they said to me and a friend of mine: 'Go to that room over there and get your passports.' They lied to us. There were five powerful-looking men in the room. They beat us up, pushed us around, cursed us...."

A few hours later Blagovest Tsvetkov's friend was still in Turkey.

There are many stories of sexual abuse and humiliation. Frequently people return who still are crying, mentally ruined by savage rape.

The Bulgarian citizens who traveled to Turkey recall the music at the border, the festive speeches, greetings, and so forth.... The contrast speaks for itself: At the point of entery—music; at the point of departure—blows. [passage omitted]

Editorial Article Views 1968 Events in CSSR

AU2208084289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Aug 89 p 6

[Editorial article: "Along What Road?"]

[Text] On this day 21 years ago five socialist countries, the People's Republic of Bulgaria among them, rendered fraternal international assistance to the patriotic forces in Czechoslovakia, in response to their appeal. On this occasion interested circles in many countries continue to distort the real causes behind the 1968 events, they are manipulating the facts, and using the events to exacerbate the situation and stop and the process of renewal in today's Czechoslovakia.

The antisocialist nature of the recent campaign against Czechoslovakia related to the "A Few Sentences of the Illegal 'Charter 77'" appeal, which was recently disseminated by some Western radio stations, and the collection of signatures under this appeal, intended to create the impression of broad public support, can be seen from both the declared goals of the campaign and the means being used. Apeals are being made to create confrontation with the socialist state and public order. Threats are being addressed to the Communists. Anonymous letters are being sent to them. They threaten the recipients that those who refuse to support the "A Few Sentences" will be physically eliminated and their houses burnt down. The local media published examples which show that the "signatures" include the names of citizens who had no idea about the whole thing. It is only natural that in their letters and telegrams to the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the government the working people massively denounce the campaign and support the policy of the party and the government.

We are again encountering the instigating role of certain radio stations and the militarist NATO circles. These actions represent interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state and a violation of the basic principles of international relations. The political instigation, whose edge in recent days has been directed against Czechoslovakia, is evident in the behavior of a group of opponents of socialism. It is only natural for the Czechoslovak public to take the necessary legal measures against this instigation, which brings to mind the scenario directed not only against that socialist country both before and after 1968.

The Warsaw Pact states have always pursued a policy of peace and cooperation, which decisively contributed to the signing of the Helsinki and Vienna agreements, to which they steadfastly adhere. However, the attempts of certain circles in the NATO member states to abuse their good will have not ceased. This was the case in the 1960's, when the attempts to weaken our military-political alliance continued under conditions of peaceful coexistence. Czechoslovakia was their target. Under the conditions of the internal situation, exacerbated with foreign assistance, and the attack that was undertaken

against the country's leadership and the socialist society, and against the military-strategic parity that had been achieved, the patriotic forces in the country had no other choice but to turn for help to their friends and allies. This was confirmed by subsequent developments, as regards both domestic and international aspects.

In the following years, which was a period of asserting the new political thinking mainly under the influence of the peace initiatives of the USSR and the other socialist countries, serious changes took place in international relations in the direction of disarmament and cooperation, and of resolving conflicts and problems through political means. Any attempt to obstruct one way or another progress toward a world of understanding and a future without wars, and to question the right of every nation to select its own road toward the common goal, is even more inadmissible under these conditions. The embers of religious intolerance and imperial ambitions are still being sought from the past and freshly fanned. Illegal actions are being encouraged and tension created. This hardly serves the universal interest.

This road does not lead toward the common home in which history has compelled all nations throughout the world and states with different social systems to live together.

Anti-CSSR Campaign Denounced

AU2108130789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Aug 89 p 4

[Article by Todor Koruev, RABOTNICHESKO DELO Prague correspondent: "Provocations Against Czechoslovakia Continue"]

[Text] Prague, 19 August—The new anti-Czechoslovak campaign has been going on for a month and a half. By the end of June a number of Western radio stations had broadcast a text entitled "A Few Sentences," which is an appeal of the illegal "Charter'77" organization and of a certain other, "independent" illegal groups.

As the CSSR press has pointed out, this provocative document is aimed at organizing a campaign for the collection of signatures all over the country in support of this document for the purpose of creating tension on the eve of 21 August, the anniversary of the 1968 events. "A Few Sentences" represents an appeal for confrontation with the socialist state and the social system and contains claims for the recognition of "Charter'77" and the other illegal structures, for the elimination of the trade unions and the other public organization, and for the restoration of private property. The text, which was secretly disseminated within the country, is full of threats referring to Brzezinski's statement in an interview with the BBC, in which he stated that the Communists in Czechoslovakia would be "finished" within a year. The antisocialist forces today are preparing for their 21 August campaign seeking international support for their illegal actions. They are also trying to find support among certain circles in some socialist countries, which applies to the Polish opposition in the first place. As was announced here in Prague, representatives of Solidarity visited the CSSR in July 1989 and agreed on joint actions with the "Chartists."

The CSSR press, however, unmasked these and some other maneuvers. RUDE PRAVO published the text of the scenario on the dissemination of "A Few Sentences," which demonstrates how the manipulation of public opinion abroad and within the country was planned and shows the methods through which the cooperation of certain Western news agencies and press publications is supposed to be achieved.

It soon became evident that the document "A Few Sentences" is by no means a voluntary action as its organizers wish to insinuate. According to RUDE PRAVO, the document was signed by young people without any real life or political experience, by antistate elements, who are persecuted for having violated the law and for common crimes but are posing as workers. Many of those who signed the document were "won over" by false pretences and threats. Anonymous letters were published threatening to physically eliminate citizens or to set their homes on fire if they should refuse to give their support to "A Few Sentences." The authors of the appeals for "freedom and democracy" are organizing the dispatch of anonymous letters in which statements, such as "the only good Communist is a dead Communist" can be read. In its 29 July program the Voice of America announced that Zdena Varechova, a well-known television announcer, had allegedly supported the document with a personal letter because of her disagreement with the government's cultural policy. In a letter to RUDE PRAVO, however, and on the television screen Varechova categorically rejected these allegations and denounced them as a disgusting lie. Many such letters have appeared in the press and in television programs recently, letters whose authors unmask the abuse of their names. This once more reveals the methods of the "Chartists" in trying to present the appeal in support of the "Few Sentences" as a nationwide cause.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and the newspaper editorial boards are receiving thousands of letters from workers collectives and individual citizens, denouncing the antisocialist campaign and the efforts of so-called "independent groups," with the support of Western radio stations and subversive agencies, to provoke a new chaos, disorder, and unrest in the country, to discredit the processes of restructuring and democratization in the CSSR. These letter categorically reject the provocative document as an effort to create confrontation with socialism and firmly declare: "Whoever sows the wind reaps the whirlwind..."

Article Analyzes Political Situation in Poland

AU2108130489 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 18 Aug 89 p 2

[Ventseslav Karaivanov article: "Between Demagogy and Sincere Concern"]

[Text] After almost a 40-year period of joint actions, successes, and difficulties during certain stages, the allies from the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], the

United Peasant Party [ZSL], and the Democratic Party decided to form a new coalition with the Citizens Parliamentary Club of the opposition, rallied around the Solidarity Trade Union. As Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee said, Poland entered a period of an overt struggle for power. A situation emerged that conceals a threat to the agreements that have been achieved with great difficulty at the roundtable talks.

Those dramatic events were preceded by prolonged and difficult attempts to overcome the crisis in the spirit of the decisions of the roundtable talks, by including representatives of all political forces who took part in adopting the roundtable decisions in the new cabinet. The PZPR sprang from a striving to mobilize all political and social forces in the country to implement the profound political and economic reforms it began. Therefore, the PZPR proposed a broad coalition to all forces who adhere to changes in the name of national consent and removing the causes of the past crises in the country.

The roundtable agreement, also accepted by the opposition, envisaged a limited participation of the parliamentary opposition in managing the country until the next parliamentary election, which will take place in 4 years. However, in the meantime, encouraged by the unexpected success in the elections, the Solidarity representatives decided that the time has come to move to the frontline of the political scene. Since they themselves do not have the necessary parliamentary majority, they used the tested means of demagogy to attract the PZPR's allies to date from the ZSL and the Democratic Party into a narrow coalition. Expressing concern with the ever growing economic crisis, the sharp increase in the price of foodstuffs, (which was also effected because of demand for them, among other factors) the great inflation, and the related dissatisfaction of the working people, they raised slogans related to forming a government of "national confidence," or "national responsibility," as the most recent variant reads.

This creates a danger for Poland's future. There is hardly a reasonable man who does not recognize the PZPR's merits in the development of the country until now, strengthening its sovereignty and position in the alliance of the socialist countries, and its present place in the world. Furthermore, the party was also the initiator of the profound democratic changes, renewal, and restructuring. Indeed, even "Solidarity" has a clear position on this issue, and Lech Walesa "magnanimously" stated in an interview with Polish radio that, if he becomes premier, he will allocate certain important posts to representatives of the PZPR.

On the other hand, recently a TRYBUNA LUDU journalist did not exclude the possibility of the PZPR becoming an opposition force and again assuming the responsibility for the country's management only after it strengthens and consolidates. However, it is doubtful whether the party members will accept such a position. More and more primary party organizations demand the convening of an extraordinary party congress, the adoption of a new party program, and the intensification of the party's participation in the country's political and economic life. Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, also declared that the situation is very alarming, but the party does not intend to give up and surrender. What is needed is a political struggle with new means and forces, in order to unmask the demagogy of Solidarity. Social demagogy and the open struggle for power have never and led to positive results anywhere.

There exists yet another variant, that cannot be excluded. If no compromise on forming a broad coalition in the name of national consent is reached in the next few days, the country's president could utilize the broad prerogatives granted to him by the recent constitutional amendments, for which all political parliamentry forces voted. In order to avoid the exacerbation of the crisis, it is possible that Parliament will be dissolved and new parliamentary elections set, while until the elections the country is governed by presidential decrees and provisional cabinet. The president also has the right to declare a state of emergency and adopt other steps in the name of saving the country.

Civil Disturbances Mark 1968 Invasion Anniversary

'Rally of Silence' Planned

LD2108162789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1528 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Prague, August 21 (TANJUG)—Today, on the day of the anniversary of the invasion of Czechoslovakia by troops of five Warsaw Pact countries 21 years ago, which marks the beginning of the end of the "Prague Spring", it has been quiet in the country's capital of Prague, whose streets are being patrolled by reinforced police units.

Leaders of the opposition group Charter 77 and the Commission for the Protection of the Unjustly Persecuted Individuals had a few days ago been ordered to leave the city or been placed under detention. A warning was also issued that any demonstrations against the authorities would be prevented.

The Prague streets and the city's central square are still quiet, but, according to Western sources, a "rally of silence" is to be held this afternoon or evening in commemoration of the events of 21 years ago.

Police Act Against Demonstrators

LD2108171889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] According to our reporter several dozen people have attempted to disturb public order and calm in the lower section of Prague's Wenceslas Square. As a pretext they chose the anniversary of 21 August 1968, aiming to cause unrest and provoke public order forces to confrontation. When the rowdies refused to disperse despite repeated appeals, the security organs intervened and restored calm and order in the square.

Vienna Reports Police Intervention

AU2108184389 Vienna Television Service in German 1730 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Report from Prague by Malte Olschewski and Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi—recorded]

[Text] [Olschewski] These are scenes shortly before police intervened [the camera shows the mass demonstrations in Wenceslas Square]. Wenceslas Square is filled with demonstrators. Choruses are calling for freedom. The demonstrators point out the examples of Hungary and Poland.

A great number of young people from these two countries could be observed among the crowd. Songs were sung. Choruses called for the rehabilitation of Alexander Dubcek, who was party leader in 1968.

At the beginning security forces restrained themselves. At first there were a few clashes with demonstrators. Several people were arrested under the protest of the masses. In the meantime, police kept enlarging their forces in Wenceslas Square. Via loudspeakers they threatened harsh actions if the crowd were not to disperse on its own.

Around 1800 police started to act against the crowd with rubber clubs. Several dozens of people were arrested. The majority of the demonstrators fled into side streets.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] Thousands of people have come to Prague's inner city despite the massive intimidation campaign that has been waged over the past few weeks and despite the warnings of opposition groups against provocations. They repeatedly sung the national anthem, they repeatedly shouted "freedom" and "let the brothers go home."

Police cleared the square. They did not want to have witnesses. The camera team of the Austrian Radio and Television Service, ORF, was attacked and the camera cable was cut with a knife.

[Moderator Ursula Stenzel adds that the camera man was knocked out by a karate chop]

'Hostile' Foreign Circles Blamed

LD2108182189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Around 1,500 persons attempted to disturb calm and public order on Wenceslas Square in Prague late this afternoon. The course of the provocation confirmed that it was organized by hostile foreign circles. It did not meet with the support of the people of Prague, who condemned it. The forces of law and order thwarted the provocation in a calm but resolute way.

Hungarians, Poles, Italians Take Part

LD2108183589 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] [Begin recording] [Reporter] Just after 1700 [1500 GMT], a crowd of people gathered in a lower section of Wenceslas Square. Among them were groups of radical young people from Hungary, Poland, and Italy, (?members) of foreign television crews and newsmen.

One of the Hungarian tourists allowed himself to be raised to the shoulders of his friends and addressed in broken Czech the crowd that has gathered.

[Unidentified speaker in broken, but comprehensible Czech] Quiet! Young people! The Hungarian political democratic youth is addressing you! [crowd chants The Hungarians! The Hungarians! The Hungarians!]

[Second unidentified speaker over loud speaker] (?Attention)! The Prague National Committee is calling on you to disperse according to the law on keeping [word indistinct] public order. This gathering is not

(?authorized) and it is against (?the law). The calls of the Capital City of Prague's National Committee and the law and order corps, for the gathering to disperse, were not obeyed.

[Unidentified speaker] So that you would disperse in the interest of preserving peace and public order. This gathering has not been authorized and it is unlawful. [end recording]

[Announcer] Afterwards the security corps reinstated peace and order in the center of the Czechoslovak capital, Prague.

Poles, Hungarians, Italians Detained

LD2108193689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Around 1500 persons attempted to disturb calm and public order in Wenceslas Square in Prague late this afternoon. Under the pretext of the anniversary of the events of August 1968 they wanted to hold an unlawful demonstration with the aim of generating an atmosphere of tension and violence in our capital city. It has been confirmed fully that the provocations were conceived abroad. Their confrontational character was inspired by the arrogant appeals of the representative from the Italian Radical Party, (Sergio Stancelli), and the antisocialist slogans of the so-called Hungarian tourists from the Federation of Young Democrats, FIDESZ. Representatives from Poland's Solidarity, and a considerable number of Italians, too, were among those taking part. Militant provocateurs and criminal persons gradually attached themselves to this core. Their provocative endeavor however did not meet the support of the people of Prague and visitors to the city. The forces of law and order thwarted the provocations. Participants detained in the provocative actions, among whom are also several Poles, Hungarians and Italians will be punished along with those who organized the actions, in accordance with the valid Czechoslovak laws.

Prague on 'Antisocialist' Protests

LD2208092389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0400 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Shortly after 1700 yesterday a group of Hungarian tourists unfurled a banner. This was the signal for a demonstration of, according to a CTK report, 1,500 people from Czechoslovakia and abroad, among whom were members of the Democratic Federation of Hungarian Youth, Polish Solidarity, and Italians. Organizers from illegal groups incited the crowd to shout slogans in front of the cameras of numerous foreign crews, voicing their sympathies with the antisocialist activity of the Czechoslovak dissidents. They shouted slogans glorifying the developments in Poland and Hungary as well as the names of Dubcek, Devaty, Jirous, and other dissidents.

Officials of the Municipal National Committee in Prague informed the participants in the provocation by ways of loudspeakers that the assembly was not authorized, that it was unlawful, and called for its dispersal. Some of those present then left the Na Mustku area. Those who remained despite repeated appeals were then pushed out by an order enforcement unit. During the evening hours several hundreds of demonstrators returned to Wenceslas Square and the order enforcement units intervened against them once again.

Lt Col Josef Dvorak, spokesman for the Czech Ministry of the Interior and the environment, stated, among other things, that when the crowd gathered at the lower section of Wenceslas Square in Prague a spokesman for the Solidarity of the Hungarian Independent workers made an antisocialist-oriented appeal. Public order was restored by using the most moderate means against the most aggressive individuals. Technical devices were not employed. During the actions none of the participants in the unauthorized demonstration and none of the members of the Public Security Service and People's Militias involved in the action was injured.

Three hundred and twenty Czechoslovak citizens and fifty foreign citizens were detained and taken to Public Security Service stations.

AFP Reports on Demonstrations

AU2108181689 Paris AFP in English 1750 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Prague, Aug 21 (AFP)—Riot police dispersed about 2,000 people who gathered in the Czechoslovak capital Monday shouting "Long Live Freedom" to mark the 21st anniversary of the crushing of the "Prague Spring" by Soviet tanks.

They had managed to reach Wenceslas Square in the heart of the city despite the security forces who were out in force to keep them away, correspondents said.

Several demonstrators were arrested, but it was not known how many.

Cries of "Long Live Poland" and "Long Live Havel," the dissident playwright Vaclav Havel, were heard in the square before the crowd began singing the national anthem.

A group of youths unfurled a banner, reading "The Bolsheviks came with their tanks, we have come with flowers", but plainclothes police snatched it from them within seconds.

The invasion on August 21, 1968, by troops from the "fraternal countries of the Warsaw Pact" abruptly ended the experiment in liberalisation launched by Alexander Dubcek and installed an orthodox Communist leadership in Prague.

Large numbers of police had been deployed Monday, mainly men and women in civilian clothes, throughout the centre of Prague and particularly around Wenceslas Square, which was sealed to the public, in a bid to block any demonstrations.

The area immediately round the statue of St Wenceslas, patron saint and symbol of freedom for Czechoslovaks, had been closed off with metal barriers and uniformed police with truncheons, handcuffs and teargas stood on duty.

The main opposition groups had urged people to "walk the streets" and observe a two-minute silence at 5 p.m. (1500 GMT) in town centres throughout the country.

Other leaders, however, including Mr Havel, have been advising people to stay off the streets to avoid confrontation with security forces.

Sources here said at least several dozen opponents had been rounded up since Sunday morning or placed under house arrest as part of pre-emptive measures by the government.

Almost all opposition leaders also had their telephone lines cut and had all visitors to their homes noted by police.

The Czechoslovak press has recently carried articles on the first anniversary of the invasion in 1969 when several people died and hundreds were injured.

On Monday, however, it did not comment on the tension in the capital as the anniversary approached.

The Communist Party paper RUDE PRAVO ran extracts under the title "The Cold War at Its Peak" from the testimony of Soviet soldiers who took part in the invasion, published Saturday by the Soviet government paper IZVESTIYA.

RUDE PRAVO mentioned the "difficult and complex politico- military situation" in Czechoslovakia at the time, cited by two top Soviet Army officials as justification for the invasion, but chose to omit the remark of one soldier who was quoted in IZVESTIYA as saying "I was ashamed. Forgive us, Prague."

RUDE PRAVO Comments on Demo

LD2208113389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 22 Aug 89

[From the Press Review]

[Text] RUDE PRAVO carries a commentary written by Jiri Kohout on the provocative action held in the center of Prague yesterday. Under the heading, "Seen in a Broader Context," the author writes that the 21st anniversary of the August 1968 events was to have become, according to various forces both at home and abroad, a signal for an antistate, confrontational clash. Such is the objective purpose of all actions from various petitions up to the organization of street provocations. As one post-February [1948] emigre declared it was to have shown how many people support the opposition.

The commentary adds, forces that want to pass themselves off as such an opposition in Czechoslovakia today and their foreign advisers and allies launched a broad range of preparations for the 21 August anniversary. They left no doubt that their aim was to stage a street demonstration at any cost, although they tried to create an impression as a pretext and as a possible excuse that they were discouraging their supporters from taking such actions. In any case, instructions sent via the Voice of America during the past days to the illegal groups by Tigrid, a CIA collaborator, urging them to abandon finally proclamations and appeals and force the Czechoslovak regime to give up power are in line with this. Such language makes it sufficiently clear how these gentlemen envisage further actions: as a power struggle.

It is hard to believe that the signature collection campaign was a spontaneous action of a few independent individuals. It was not. This has been confirmed by the documents published. The purpose of the entire action surrounding the "Several Sentences" appeal was to form an opposition platform.

The commentary says that the specific event that truly took place in central Prague on 21 August provides moreover evidence about the broader internationalization of the provocation in Prague. Already now it is extremely suspicious how many foreign tourists set off for Prague precisely to be there on 21 August. More than 1,000 Italian citizens appeared in Prague, and how much credibility was there in the replies of Hungarian tourists that they came to Prague to celebrate Hungary's national holiday, the commentary stresses. On the basis of some foreign reports it also mentions the endeavor of Solidarity to send some 3,000 of its supporters to Prague. To be truthful, the commentary continues, neither the increased alert of members of the national Security Corps nor the more frequent checks of the movements of vehicles and people in Prague rank among the normal features of our summer season. Their presence manifested clearly and specifically what the federal government's statement contained, that is, the words that any attempt to jeopardize the process of the ongoing restructuring or the attempt to misuse democratization to push through antisocialist designs would inevitable meet with an appropriate response by the government.

Certain Western agencies have been literally reveling in reports from Prague. They remind one by their tenor of saying that those who want to beat a dog will find a stick. Thus, for instance, Reuter correspondent Michael Wise predicted quite openly planned mass demonstrations as well as the fact that representatives of Polish Solidarity and the Hungarian opposition were to come to Prague. It was however the West German newspaper, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG which crowned it all: it predicted as early as its morning edition on 21

August a bloodbath in Wencaslas Square. They made predictions, the commentary stresses, because they possessed ready made infromation made available to them from among the circles of the independent groups. It is thus surprising why they are shocked hypocritically by the fact that the state authorities adopted the necessary counter measures. Provocative rumors, too, were spread intentionally. Some agencies created in a planned manner a climate of psychosis and generated a desired effect for this purpose by spreading world wide internationally and purposefully a version about the distabilization of the situation in Czechoslovakia.

All these circumstances must be taken into account for us to understand all most correctly the backdrop to what in fact happened in Prague in the late afternoon on 21 August and why, Jiri Kohout concludes his commentary in RUDE PRAVO on yesterday's provocative demonstration in central Prague.

Dissident Havel Appeals for Peaceful Protest

PM2108163789 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 19 Aug 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Appeal to Czechoslovaks: 'The Communist Party Is Seeking a Clash'"]

[Text] Prague—Prague is getting ready to recall with dread the invasion by Warsaw Pact troops on the night of 20-21 August 21 years ago. Following the protest demonstrations of past years the Czechoslovak authorities have announced that this year they intend to maintain order at all costs, and the capital has been garrisoned by army and police since yesterday morning. The Czech [as published] parliament has condemned its Polish counterpart's stance in condemning the invasion. And from East Germany has come what amounts to a defense of the military intervention, described by the party organ as "assistance against antisocialist forces."

We publish below the appeal addressed by the dissident Czech playwright Vaclav Havel to his fellow citizens not to accept the authorities' provocations.

[Havel] I have received very many letters from all parts of Czechoslovakia from persons asking me to make a statement in view of the upcoming anniversary of the invasion of Czechoslovakia on 21 August 1968 and in so doing to advise the people as to the best way to act on 21 August.

These letters contain numerous and varied ideas, suggestions, proposals, public assertions and other similar material. Moreover, the letters that I am receiving reveal apprehension on the senders' part that lives could be lost; and this is combined with the fear that in fact the authorities want to start a clash on Prague's Wenceslas Square on 21 August. That the authorities want to use such a clash to suppress the reawakening of civil society. This would also serve as a pretext for getting rid once and for all of the independent Czechoslovak groups which the authorities consider to be the initiators of the new reawakening among the people.

I am not in the least surprised by the people's fears. For some considerable time past the official media have been full of all kinds of threats. The security forces are making quite open preparations to intervene against "possible" demonstrations. They are training specifically for the occasion.

To begin with I was unwilling to respond publicly to the letters I have been receiving, well aware that the independent Czechoslovak groups would be issuing statements of their own. As a member of one of those groups, I consider their voice as my own. By releasing a statement myself I would create the unjustified impression of being a political entity in my own right and thus elevate myself above them.

Later, however, I came to the conclusion that I must set aside these scruples of mine in the public interest and must therefore intervene. The independent Czechoslovak groups have just published two communiques which differ from one another. I find that a logical and natural development. If all the groups shared the same ideas on every question, we certainly would not have so many of them. One group would be enough.

Both communiques warn the Czechoslovak public (albeit each to a different degree and with different emphases) of the dangers of an "officially" provoked clash. So they invite Czechoslovak citizens (whatever they may decide to do) to behave in a responsible and nonviolent way, with moderation, so as to avoid giving the authorities a pretext for intervening against them.

I, too, feel the need to express publicly my interest in preserving human life and the people's well-being as well as my fear of the "pogrom" reactions which could be triggered following a public clash. If, indeed, certain factions in the apparatus which holds power are determined to clash with the people at all costs, they will provoke a conflict even if they have to attack innocent passers-by and even if they themselves have to prompt violent behavior by an "aggressive mob," as happened when the Aeroflot office in Prague was attacked and destroyed in 1969.

Horrifying rumors have even reached my ears—I am convinced that they are only rumors—that the authorities are actually prepared to get one of their own men shot so as to blame Charter 77 for the fact. It is certainly no accident that the authorities have tried and are still trying to link Charter 77 with terrorism.

So, if the authorities are determined to provoke a violent clash—and I still hope that that will not occur—the independent groups unfortunately have no power to prevent it

from happening. Nevertheless, it is still worth reminding people constantly of the risks involved. And that is what I am seeking to do in releasing this communique.

Large-scale demonstrations, no matter how peaceful or otherwise, are no more than an extreme method of "expressing one's own opinions"—a method that society employs only when all other methods of voicing one's own wishes have failed. Many people will see this as precisely what is happening in our case. But, at the same time, I personally am convinced that there is no reason to resort primarily or exclusively to that method of protest at this time, given that the authorities are waiting for exactly that type of action in order to be able to crack down hard and paralyze the people's democratization efforts for a long time to come.

What is more, I am convinced that other, less direct methods of confrontation in order to express public opinion have yet to be fully exploited. More and more scope is being created for such actions. For example, everyone could express their love of freedom by signing a petition titled "Just a Few Words." The petition does not constitute direct confrontation. Signing the petition is not a short-lived, isolated gesture. It is one of the many ways of expressing the people's wish for greater democracy in a practical, peaceful, and lasting way.

To conclude, I must confess that I am firmly convinced that the retraction of the official version of the Czechoslovak invasion is bound to come. The invasion story is currently being reappraised in Poland and Hungary. The same is about to happen in the Soviet Union, and sooner or later it will almost certainly happen in Czechoslovakia too, regardless of the outcome of this 21 August and its possible aftermath.

I am well aware that there are moments in history when great risks have to be taken and great sacrifices made. But I do not believe that this is such a moment. It would truly be a tragedy if the people, impelled by the courageous desire to do something beneficial to the process of democratizing this country, were to risk their own lives when there is at least a hope that their courage can be applied in their day-to-day activity and their work.

Hajek on Regime's Concerns About Anniversary

AU2108160189 Vienna PROFIL in German 21 Aug 89 p 35

[Interview with former CSSR Foreign Minister Jiri Hajek by Michael Siegert: "Tiananmen on Wenceslas Square?"—date, place not given]

[Text] PROFIL: What do you say about the statement the CSSR Government made today on the events it anticipates in Prague's Wenceslas Square on 21 August?

Hajek: The RUDE PRAVO editorial has accused us of planning confrontation, which is of course wrong. In my view, the hard core of power intends to exploit the tension to provoke clashes and organize a sort of Beijing, a small Tiananmen.

PROFIL: Are you concerned that police could shoot?

Hajek: RUDE PRAVO on 18 August somehow suggests that this could happen.

PROFIL: If the state power fears its opponents so much, they must have substantial support from the people.

Hajek: That is precisely the dilemma here. They are only a handful, but this handful is so powerful. The people are united behind the government; yet these attempts are so dangerous that they can destabilize the country, and therefore, the opposition must be suppressed.

PROFIL: But what happened recently, for the regime to be so concerned?

Hajek: That dates back to last year, when the first free manifestation took place on 21 August. That was a big surprise, because suddenly there were 10,000 people in Prague's Wenceslas Square. It happened again on 28 October, and then again during the week in January when Ian Palach was commemorated. The people do not allow themselves to be intimidated any more; that is what troubles the regime.

PROFIL: In an appeal on 21 August, it says that at 5 p.m., the citizens should stand still for 2 minutes wherever they are.

Hajek: Look, people can stroll around in the center of Prague, but they know that the state power wants to have a confrontation, and people should not help it get one.

PROFIL: The opposition issued the appeal "Several Sentences" recently, which demands genuine democratization and not just some lip service on Gorbachev. How many people have signed this document?

Hajek: The number is growing everyday; it is about 20,000 now.

PROFIL: Who signs it? Only intellectuals, such as the 1,300 signatories of Charter 77?

Hajek: Intellectuals and a lot of workers and employees from the service sector.

PROFIL: How about the demonstrators? Is a new generation growing up here?

Hajek: Yes, it is a generation that did not see the Prague Spring but finds all these official lies sickening. The young people simply want to be told the truth.

PROFIL: So there are no economic but only moral problems?

Hajek: That distinguishes us from the other Eastern countries, because there is a lot to criticize about consumption, but it all remains quite individual. It has not yet developed to become a social movement.

PROFIL: Have you been harassed in recent days?

Hajek: I was summoned to an interrogation yesterday. Two decent young policemen read to me a so-called warning that as a former Charter 77 spokesman, I must not take part in actions leading to clashes. I testified and had taken down for the record that I do not know of any provocations of the Charter members and independent activists' groups, but that I am convinced that provocations have to be expected rather on the part of the state power. I must say that it went on in a very civilized manner.

PROFIL: Can you travel to Poland now?

Hajek: No, because they took away my passport. I was in Norway in May to see my son. On my way back, I went via Sweden and took part in the Socialist International Congress, and when I came home, they took away my passport.

PROFIL: Do you believe that following the statements of the Senate and the Sejm in Warsaw, as well as the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] in Budapest, a statement will also come from Moscow, that will condemn the 1968 invasion?

Hajek: That would be entirely in Gorbachev's logic, and it would also be in the logic of the Warsaw Pact leadership's recent communique from Bucharest, which says that nobody has the monopoly of the truth, and that the relationship of the Warsaw Pact allies must be free of any interference in the other's internal affairs. Judging by this logic, it was a mistake at that time.

PROFIL: Are there still forces of reform in the Communist Party of the CSSR, who could speak out eventually?

Hajek: That is hard to say. The party took measures in 1970 when it got rid of one third of its members. I think that the top is still quite monolithic, and even people like former Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal who proposed more far-reaching democratization recently have been pushed aside. Nonetheless, I hope for common sense, in other words, I hope that there are people who will simply try to adjust to the requirements of our time.

Austrian Paper Interviews Civil Rights Activist

AU2008171689 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 18 Aug 89 p 4

[Interview with civil rights activist Jaroslav Sabata from Brno, "who was party secretary during the Prague Spring, who was excluded from the Communist Party in 1971, and who was one of the spokesmen of the 'Charter 77' movement from 1978-81," by Aureliusz M. Pedziwol: "The Slow Awakening of Society in the CSSR"; date, place not given]

[Text] Brno/Vienna—[Pedziwol] Do you see parallels or similarities between the current situation in the CSSR and the events of the year 1968? What is the most striking difference compared with 1968?

[Sabata] Just like in 1968, we are again on the verge of a political crisis. Problems have to be solved today that responsible persons wanted to solve 20 years ago. However, the international situation is different today. The process that was initiated in the CSSR 20 years ago did not draw any response in our neighboring countries. Today, however, developments in the Soviet Union, in Hungary, and Poland have advanced so far that one can only be surprised about the stubbornness of the CSSR leadership. However, this is only a question of time: Sooner or later—sooner may mean a few months or a few years—the program of the year 1968 must return to the political platform.

[Pedziwol] An increasing number of Czechs and Slovaks voice their dissatisfaction at the situation in the country, as can be seen from the most recent petition "Some Sentences." However, millions of CSSR citizens are still silent. Why?

[Sabata] Society in the CSSR has been "pacified" in various ways during the past 20 years. It is not easy to awaken them again. One must not forget that the liquidation of the 1968 reform movement led to great disappointment, particularly among the middle-aged and the older generation. This is the social and psychological background to the difficulties one is facing when making attempts to initiate a democratic revival. Despite this fact, we have witnessed a strong activation of society last year and this year. This fills us with hope. In the sphere of power, however—this is the strange thing about this country—the reform-minded forces have not succeeded in gaining the upper hand.

[Pedziwol] Is there no one among the leaders who is willing to fulfill the expectations of the citizens?

[Sabata] There are indications that suggest the existence of alternative tendencies within the power center. Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec, for example, has not participated in the current brutal campaign against the civil rights movement so far. It is also known that numerous party members are basically against the campaign which is being waged by the organ of the Communist Party, RUDE PRAVO.

[Pedziwol] What effect did the visit by a Polish Solidarity delegation to the CSSR have?

[Sabata] Something new has emerged in the political landscape of Eastern Europe: Active solidarity among democratic circles which is no longer limited to classical cooperation among dissidents. This gives rise to important developments on the path toward democracy in Eastern and central Europe. Such initiatives should be taken seriously, because they are directed toward what is being described as the "common European home."

[Pedziwol] At the same time there is also the alliance between opponents to reforms in the power centers of the CSSR, GDR, and Romania. How dangerous is this alliance?

[Sabata] There is no doubt that the ideological affinity between the leaders of these countries exerts a considerable influence on the behavior of the conservative forces in the whole of Eastern Europe. This factor can become dangerous under certain circumstances, not only for these three countries but for the whole of Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union. However, I personally do not believe that this will take place and that the process of democratization can be stopped.

[Pedziwol] What do you expect to happen in the CSSR in the very near future?

[Sabata] The most important thing is not to only talk about restructuring and democratization, but to finally get down to work. We need both an economic and political reform. This is only possible on the basis of cooperation among all democratic and reformist forces, both within the party and the opposition.

CTK Cites Bulgarian Paper on 1968 Events

LD2108192289 Prague CTK in English 1715 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Sofia Aug 21 (CTK Correspondent)—Certain circles in a number of countries continue to distort the real causes of the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968, manipulate facts and use the events to sharpen the situation and impede the processes of restoration in today's Czechoslovakia, the Bulgarian daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO said today.

The daily pointed out the provocative role of the foreign radio stations and NATO circles, stressing that their acts are an interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state and violation of the basic principles of international law. Political incorrectness, directed against Czechoslovakia in the past few days, is reflected in the behaviour of the groups of enemies of Czechoslovakia against which the Czechoslovak society has to take (?action).

Sejm Statement Supports 'Reactionary Forces'

AU2108120689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Aug 89 p 8

["CTK, zr"-signed report: "Complicated Talks on Government Formation in the Polish People's Republic"]

[Excerpt] Warsaw—[Passage omitted] The second day of a session of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic [on 17 August] was devoted to the reading of a government-sponsored bill proposing changes to the legislation on the social fund for rural areas.

By a majority of votes, the Sejm also adopted a statement, in which it expresses disagreement with the military solution to the situation in Czechoslovakia in August 1968. Prior to this, a similar statement was adopted by the Polish Senate, in which Solidarity has an absolute majority. The statement is a clear attempt to support those reactionary forces, which seek the destabilization of social development in Czechoslovakia. [passage omitted]

Ambassador in Poland Speaks on Anniversary

AU2108141489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Aug 89 p 7

[unattributed report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] On Thursday [17 August], the Czechoslovak Embassy in Warsaw organized a press conference on the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising and current domestic political issues. Ambassador Josef Havlin provided information about the course of restructuring in Czechoslovakia and about work on a new party program and on new party statutes. He drew attention to the efforts of antisocialist forces to destabilize the process of restructuring and to provoke unrest in connection with the approaching anniversary of the events of August 1968.

Polish Events 'Probably' Influence Prague Demo

LD2108184189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] The Polish situation probably has a large influence on what is happening in Czechoslovakia:

[(Kaczmarek)] From Prague, (Stanislaw Kaczmarek) talking. The Czechoslovak authorities did not succeed in not allowing the demonstrations and meetings, earlier announced by the opposition, to take place on the anniversary of the intervention of Warsaw Pact armies in Czechoslovakia. Despite the fact that for nearly 2 days the center of Prague and Wenceslas Square has been virtually blocked with reinforced police guards and law and order forces, at 1700 at the intersection of the main pedestrian area of Wenceslas Square and Na Prikope, a group of several hundred young people formed, and a banner of an opposition group of Hungarian youth appeared with the slogan: "We Come With Flowers and Not Tanks." The people who had gathered chanted the slogans: "Freedom," "Long Live Dubcek," "Long Live Havel," "Long Live Poland." Czechoslovak national anthems were sung. The militia did not intervene and only blocked people's access from side streets. The checking of individual people from the crowd's identity cards only provoked applause and whistling. When I left Wenceslas Square before 1800 the police was calling the crowd to disperse through loud-speakers. It is calm in the remaining districts of Prague.

Solidarity Seen Following 'Own Interests'
AU2108130689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Aug 89 p 8

[Pavol Minarik article: "Poland: A Question of Power"]

[Text] The foremost characteristic of Solidarity now, during this hot Polish summer, is its organization of strikes—just like the period 1980-81. Solidarity is also organizing various types of protest events during which political and economic demands are submitted. At that time, as now, Poland found itself in an extremely complicated situation under the pressure of a wave of strikes.

General shortages have prevailed in a rich country which has valuable raw materials such as copper, sulphur, bituminous and brown coal, access to the sea, its own good agricultural land, an advanced industry, and a well educated and hard working people.

It is absolutely logical that they want to live well and improve their standard of living. However, despite these wishes, between the years 1980-81 and now their standard of living has fallen, and it is continuing to fall, noticeably. Day after day the shelves are becoming emptier and inflation is increasing.

However, there are substantially more negative phenomena in the present strike situation. Whereas, for example, at the beginning of the year internal indebtedness did not exceed Z1 billion, at present it is already verging on Z5 billion. Constant pressure to increase wages, under the threat of never ending strikes, has resulted in the significant preponderance of the population's money over the amount of goods on the market. A kind of direct ratio has been formed. On the one hand, production in enterprises is falling and, on the other, the queues of people who want to buy something more valuable for their money, which is losing its value day by day, have automatically lengthened. Together this creates a dramatic economic situation.

A good economy is the basis for the success of every system. An attack on it, then, is nothing other than an attack on the system. In the period 1980-81 Solidarity leaders still maintained that by their strikes they wanted to "improve" socialism in the country. However, during this period they are already openly stating that they want to change the system. For them the strike weapon is an instrument which is to serve them in the resolution of purely political issues, to discredit the government and the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], and to prepare the ground for establishing the question of power. And today this question has already been openly established. From a strategic point of view this is an absolutely changed situation.

Solidarity is a recent legal opposition force in Poland. At the roundtable not quite 4 months ago it promised that it was in favor of gradual, nonviolent changes in the country. Developments during recent days, however, have shown that it is retreating from these agreements.

Another, politically destabilizing element, then, has been added to the complicated economic situation. Solidarity leaders both in Parliament and outside of it are calling for responsibility to be established for the present political and economic crisis. They want to place everyone—besides themselves—before a tribunal. They regard their own destabilizing behavior, with which they have succeeded in nipping the majority of positive steps in economic reform in the bud, as a manifestation of democracy.

There can be no argument that it was Solidarity that at the end of 1981 drove Poland to the verge of catastrophe. Its legalization was one of the main conditions for promised economic aid from the United Sates and its Western allies. When the Polish side gradually fulfilled all the demands, the United States began to claim that Poland must get itself out of its difficult situation before it would be given help. Obviously, this is a tactic of not promising and not giving help until the changes which the United States wants come about in Poland. Therefore, during his recent visit to Poland, President Bush cautiously promised $100 million only for the development of the private sector. The American Congress, which had the final word, granted Poland barely a quarter of this sum. Apparently, Solidarity expected (and expects) aid to the tune of $10 billion.

Let us remember that Poland has debts in the West of almost $40 billion, that since 1970 it has borrowed $48 billion in various forms, $44 billion of which it has paid back, and of that sum $36 billion fell, in essence, to usurious interest rates. Not only past governments but also Solidarity have their share in the level of this indebtedness. The destructive activity of Solidarity leaders has led to thousands of days being lost due to strikes, to automatic reductions in production or in the extraction of raw materials, to a marked reduction in exports, and to increases in imports, mainly of basic goods for the population's needs. It was the same in the past. If the wave of strikes continues at such a high rate as it has up until now, the situation of the years 1980-81 will be inevitably repeated.

During this complicated situation, the opposition continues to torpedo all attempts to form a coalition and, first and foremost, the attempts by the PZPR to create a government and to stabilize conditions in the country and in the economy. Solidarity leaders are placing their own interests before national interests.

Polish Premiership Candidates Short Biographies
AU2108123989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Aug 89 p 7

[Pavol Minarik article: "Solidarity Candidates"]

[Text] It has just been announced in Warsaw that Solidarity is proposing a trio of its own candidates for the

post of Polish prime minister—Jacek Kuron, Bronislaw Geremek, and Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Here is some prompt information for our readers.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki—He edits the weekly SOLIDARNOSC. He is a representative of the Catholic intelligentsia and has strong links with Pope John Paul II. He lectured at a Catholic workers university. Lech Walesa was among his students even before August 1980. He regards himself as an ideologist of the so-called Catholic opposition. He was an organizer of and participant in strikes in the V. I. Lenin Shipyards in 1980. He is one of Walesa's main advisers who represents the interests of the Polish church. The weekly SOLIDARNOSC, which he edits, is substantially more restrained than in 1981. Contrasted against this, the newspaper GAZETA WYBORCZA, which is edited by Adam Michnik, is considered to be extremist. Approximately 14 days ago the SOLIDARNOSC weekly published a comprehensive article on Solidarity's shortcomings and weaknesses.

Jacek Kuron—In the past he was a member of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. He was expelled from the party in the 1950's for his Trotskyite views. In the 1970's he founded KOR (Komitet Obrody Robotnikow—Workers' Defense Committee)—for people, allegedly, persecuted for their political opinions. He was among the organizers of the August strikes in Gdansk in 1980. He is one of the creators of the idea of a two-chamber parliament with the participation of the opposition. He was and is among Walesa's main advisers. He is a Sejm deputy.

Bronislaw Geremek—He is chairman of the deputies' opposition club. He is a main Solidarity ideologist. In the past he was a student at Paris universities [as published]. He wrote his doctoral thesis on the topic of the French Revolution. He organized strikes in the Gdansk shipyards in 1980. He is the creator of the theory of a "citizens' state" headed by a government which will represent the views of society through the medium of opposition representatives. He has influential contacts in the West. He is markedly anticommunist-oriented. He attacks the PZPR at every opportunity in the Sejm. He is well educated, an outstanding orator, and in a discussion manages to utilize even his opponent's smallest mistake and actually uses demagogy.

Prague Comments on Poland's 'Interference'

LD2108214789 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] It is an inalienable right of every country and nation to assess itself by way of its own history. Both nations in Czechoslovakia have this right. Yet with regard to the assessments of events in Czechoslovakia back in August 1968 we find that Czechoslovak history is being distorted and rewritten from abroad.

It is only natural that history is usually seen from two angles—the victorious and the vanquished. All in all, for some German historians the birth of the independent Czechoslovak Republic was an historical error. The 1968 events in Czechoslovakia were already thoroughly analyzed from the Marxist-Leninist point of the view at the beginning of the 1970's. This was conducted openly. Thus, a collective assessment of all the aspects of the then situation, which had its roots even before the year 1968, was consequently incorporated and discussed at the plenary session of the Czechoslovak party Central Committee and found its way into further developments in our country.

The lessons drawn from those events was submitted to broad representative assessment at the 14th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. In other words, the party's effort to speed up the socioeconomic developments of Czechoslovakia, the shortcomings and errors of Dubeck's party leadership, the counterrevolutionary activities in Czechoslovakia, and the international aid of the fraternal armies in 1968 have been assessed by the highest party representatives, within the broad mass of party members and society as a whole with the attendence of the scientific fraternity in a democratic and open manner.

Interfering in the internal affairs of another country, as exemplified by the Polish Sejm where Solidarity is now pursuing its demagogic ambitions, is not only an inept manner by which to explain the events of 1968 but above all it runs counter to the principles of restructuring and international relations as well as the process of democratization and in concrete practice is counter to the results of the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Helsinki conference. Although the provisions of the Vienna follow-up meeting have been accepted throughout Europe as a document of the new thinking in European relations, the statements released by Solidarity and supported by the Polish Parliament show the signs of the old one. One can hardly imagine a common European home when a country could try to make the neighbor move the furniture according to its taste.

Through the voice of the highest legislative bodies the Czechoslovak public is rightly rejecting such as practice incompatible with elementary international forms, and this does not concern only the Polish Parliament's stand.

Note to Hungary Claims Hydroproject Compensation

AU2208092589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Aug 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Gabcikovo-Nagymaros: We Will Claim Compensation"]

[Text] Prague—Miroslav Vetrovec, director of a department of the federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on Friday [18 August] received Janos Hanko, charge d'affairs ad interim of the Hungarian People's Republic, and

presented him a diplomatic note on the position of the CSSR Government regarding the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroworks system.

The note affirms the decision of the CSSR Government of 15 May 1989 to insist on the fulfillment of the agreement on the construction of the aforementioned hydroproject, and points out the damage arising as a consequence of the lag in the scheduled construction work, and announces that the Czechoslovak side will claim compensation.

The CSSR Government note stresses again that the responsibility for the consequences of the unilateral decisions made by the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is borne exclusively by the Hungarian side because the decisions were adopted at variance with international law.

Interior Ministry on Reduction in Border Zone

AU2208091289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Aug 89 p 2

[CTK report: "On Reducing the Border Zone"]

[Text] Prague—Major Jiri Belohlavek, press spokesman for the Federal Ministry of the Interior, has replied to CTK on the numerous questions put by our citizens concerning the regions and regime of the newly revised CSSR border zone.

The reduction of the border zone means the exemption of approximately 14,500 hectares of agricultural and forest land and was carried out after negotiations between organs from the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the appropriate party, state, and economic organs and organizations in places through which the border zone passes.

In some regions of the Central Sumava Mountains and the wetland forests in Southern Moravia the fact that the border zone is a definite "regulator" of the movement of people and limits the undesirable devastation of nature was taken into consideration when the border zone was being reduced.

The exemption from the border zone of roads and communications systems of local importance will improve the passage of vehicles and will expand the possibilities for parking, tourism, the gathering of forest fruits, bathing, and fishing.

The reduction of the border zone has made access to certain important localities easier, for example: the area around As (Mokriny), the left bank of the Skalka Dam in the Cheb district, the Zelena Mountain, the Cerchovsky forest, the area around the Nyrsko reservoir, Kvilda in the Sumava Mountains, the Vitkuv Kamen area around the Lipno Dam, the area around the river Malse from Dolni Dvoriste to Svaty Kamen, Chlum near Trebon, the area around the Slavonice, Hluboka, Vratenin, and Uhercice districts, the area around some border villages in the Znojmo district, and the border territory of Zahori in Slovakia from Moravsky Jan to Suchohrad. However, a number of border regions have the statute of protected zone, which means that even after their exemption from the border zone it is impossible to allow encroachments which would have an unfavorable impact on the protection of the environment.

It is necessary to emphasize that citizens must fully respect the regime in the existing border zone. Entry into it will continue to be permitted only on the production of valid passes or permits stamped in the citizen's cards of those citizens who reside here permanently or who work here. In the released areas organs of the Border Guard can carry out random checks and, therefore, it is essential that visitors to these areas have the valid personal documentation with them.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 10-16 Aug

AU1808185189

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 11 to 17 August report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

Gustav Husak, in the presence of Jaromir Johanes, received Isidoro Malmierca, Cuban foreign minister, in Prague on 11 August. (RUDE PRAVO 12 Aug 89 p 1)

Gustav Husak, in the presence of Jaromir Johanes, received Mohammad Aziz (spelling of name as published), newly appointed ambassador of the Republic of Afghanistan to the CSSR, in Prague on 16 August. (RUDE PRAVO 17 Aug 89 p 1)

Jaromir Johanes, in the presence of Miroslav Stepan, hosted a gala dinner in honor of Isidoro Malmierca in Prague on 11 August. (RUDE PRAVO 12 Aug 89 p 1)

Ignac Janak, accompanied by Pavel Hrivnak, paid a working visit to the Slovak coal mining district of Prievidza on 11 August. (PRAVDA 12 Aug 89 pp 1,2)

Frantisek Hanus, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee secretary, paid a working visit to the Skoda car factory in Mlada Boleslav on 14 August. (RUDE PRAVO 15 Aug 89 p 2) He paid a working visit to the Melnik District on 16 August. (RUDE PRAVO 17 Aug 89 p 2)

Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, visited a fashion fair in Trencin on 10 August. (PRAVDA 11 Aug 89 p 1)

Ivan Knotek, member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, paid a working visit to the Trencin District on 11 August. (RUDE PRAVO 12 Aug 89 p 2) He paid a working visit to North Moravia on 15 August. (RUDE PRAVO 16 Aug 89 p 2)

Jozef Lenart, member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, received Wolfgang Roth, member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany Presidium, in Prague on 16 August. (RUDE PRAVO 17 Aug 89 p 2)

Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, received Henri Malberg, first secretary of the French Communist Party city organization of Paris, in Prague on 14 August. (RUDE PRAVO 15 Aug 89 p 2) He received a delegation of Prague farmers who reported on the conclusion of the harvest, in Prague on 14 August. (PRAVDA 15 Aug 89 p 2) He visited a medical clinic in Prague on 15 August. (RUDE PRAVO 16 Aug 89 p 2) He attended the opening of an exhibition of modern Czech art in Prague on 15 August. (RUDE PRAVO 16 Aug 89 p 1)

Jaromir Johanes, CSSR foreign minister, received Mohammad Aziz, newly appointed ambassador of the Republic of Afghanistan to the CSSR, in Prague on 11 August. (RUDE PRAVO 12 Aug 89 p 2)

Secretary Honecker Recuperating After Surgery
LD2108151189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1449 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State underwent an operation last week for gall stones.

He is on the road to recovery.

Honecker Sends Greetings to Deng Xiaoping
LD2208101189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0200 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The life and struggle of Deng Xiaoping are inseparably linked with the historical way of the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, into the new era of socialism. This is stressed in a greetings message from Erich Honecker on the 85th birthday of Deng Xiaoping, chairman of CPC Central Committee Military Commission and chairman of the PRC Central Military Commission.

The letter, signed by the general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of German Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council and National Defense Council, continues: "I extend our greetings to you with the firm conviction that the friendship and cooperation of the two parties, states, and peoples will develop and deepen for the benefit of strengthening socialism's positions and in the interest of preserving and consolidating peace. I wish you, dear friend, Deng Xiaoping, the best of health, creative power, and further successes in your fruitful work for the benefit of the Chinese people and of peace."

Jaruzelski Thanks Honecker for Greetings
AU1808202589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Aug 89 p 1

[ND report: "Relations of Friendship Connect GDR and Polish People's Republic—Letter From Wojciech Jaruzelski to Erich Honecker"]

[Text] Berlin—Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic, sent the following letter of thanks to Erich Honecker, Central Committee general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany:

Dear Comrade Honecker!

I wish to cordially thank you for the congratulations you have conveyed to me on my election as president of the Polish People's Republic.

I fully share your conviction that the close relations of friendship and cooperation that have developed between our two countries will continue to develop productively in the interest of our peoples and in the interest of the socialist community.

I add to this my wishes for your good health and personal well-being.

Wojciech Jaruzelski
President of the Polish People's Republic

Emigration Issue Discussed With FRG Minister
AU2208103289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19-20 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Talks With FRG Minister"]

[Text] East Berlin—Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary and first deputy minister for foreign affairs of the GDR, met with Rudolf Seiters, minister for special tasks and head of the FRG Chancellery, at the latter's request in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Berlin for talks on Friday [18 August].

The two politicians discussed questions in connection with those GDR citizens who are currently staying in FRG foreign missions. Herbert Krolikowski reiterated the GDR's view that questions of permanent emigration of GDR citizens are clearly regulated by law. Krolikowski stressed toward Seiters that decisions in this field come within the exclusive competence of the GDR Government. Thus, the GDR rejects any attempt to force emigration from the GDR through FRG missions, because the GDR's legal regulations are equally binding for all citizens. He called on the FRG to ensure that those GDR citizens who are currently staying in FRG missions leave the representations and return to their home towns. As has been repeatedly declared, these citizens will not have to fear any punishment, he noted.

In his meeting with Rudolf Seiters, Herbert Krolikowski stressed that the regulations of international law do not entrust the FRG with any kind of "duty to exercise care" for GDR citizens, and that attempts in this direction have to be rejected as interference in the domestic affairs of the GDR.

Referring to the joint communique on the visit to Bonn in September 1987 by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, State Secretary Herbert Krolikowski emphasized the GDR's continuing readiness to contribute toward developing normal and businesslike relations between both states on the basis of equal rights, in the interest of securing peace and continuing the process of detente.

FIDESZ Members Held in Prague Demonstration

Consul in Prague Tries To Help

LD2202085489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Prague was calm during the night after the demonstrations, when only the violent intervention of the police ended a series of demonstrations by thousands of people. There were Hungarians among those detained. Evelyn Forro reports:

According to reports which reached the Hungarian Embassy in Prague, Gyoergy Kerenyi, Tames Deutsch, Laszlo Pesti, and Akos Laszlo Nemeth are being detained. Late last night the embassy was informed that Zsolt (?Szesztak's) whereabouts were not known.

Consul Lajos Taba stated that the Czechoslovak authorities are obliged by the legal aid agreement to inform the Hungarian authorities within 5 days in such cases. However, the usual practice is to do so within 24 hours. At any rate, as soon as the consul heard that Hungarians had been detained, he went immediately to the embassy and worked until 0100. He asked the Prague Ministries of Foreign and Internal Affairs to allow his presence as consul and interpreter at the hearings and to be allowed to provide legal protection. This was promised. Around midnight he was informed by the Czechoslovak authorities that the detained Hungarians were being allowed to rest and their hearing would be on Tuesday morning. In the meantime the embassy has received several phone calls from Budapest, saying that there is photographic evidence that these people were beaten up. The consul asked for the pictures to be faxed to Prague. The consul assured the representatives of FIDESZ [Democratic Federation of Hungary Youth] that party membership did not matter, only that Hungarian citizens were concerned and the embassy would do everything possible in their interest.

There is no news about some Hungarian journalists who carried out their duties in St Wenceslas Square yesterday. We have learned that two correspondents of the television newsreel did not return to their residence last night. In addition to Istvan Lantos and Pal Huber, two photoreporters, Gabor Pataki and Gabor (Borro) who work for the 'Kepes Het' and 'Mai Nap' are missing. The Hungarian Consulate in Prague is trying to gain information about their whereabouts.

More on Demonstration Detainees

LD2108205189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] Our Prague correspondent, Evelyn Forro, is on the line again. Hello, Evelyn, what are the latest developments in Prague?

[Forro] The latest development is that two reports have arrived at the Hungarian Embassy regarding those arrested. The Czechoslovak side, incidentally has not contacted the embassy yet. Four names were reported, four members of FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats], Gyoergy Kerenyi, Tamas Deutsch, Laszlo Pesti, and Akos Laszlo Nemeth. Besides this, my colleague from NEPSZABADSAG has just arrived back from the scene and said that at the bottom of Wenceslas Square, in the pedestrian area in [word indistinct] the demonstration is still in progress and the police are dispersing the crowd with batons.

Kerenyi Beating Described

LD2208124389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Excerpts] According to the Hungarian participants, at least 10,000 but probably many more took part in yesterday's Prague demonstrations. The eyewitnesses say that the uniformed and plainclothes police beat the Czech and foreign demonstrators without any discrimination. You will now here a recording made last night in Wenceslas Square. [sound of shouthing and whistling]

The whistle you heard was when Kerenyi was arrested. We now have here eyewitnesses, Zoltan Lovas and Tamas Wachsler, who have just returned from Prague and are with us here in the studio. What happened last night and this morning in Prague?

[Lovas or Wachsler] As a journalist, I saw some very strange conduct by the Czechoslovak authorities. They allowed their own, various types of, organizations to take pictures, for rather specialized documentative purposes, while they did not treat foreign journalists very cordially, to say the least. Late last night I met with human rights campaigners at an illegal meeting place, who told me that there had been at least 1,000 arrests.

[Presenter] What do you know about the Hungarians?

[Lovas or Wachsler] They were not simply arrested. We witnessed some very nasty events. When Gyorgy Kerenyi was reading the joint declaration of FIDESZ, the Alliance of Free Democrats and the Workers' Solidarity Trade Union, in the square, soon afterward he was taken by plainclothes police and then, in view of everyone, he was beaten with truncheons. Afterward, when we saw him sitting in the bus, he was almost unrecognizable.

[Presenter] The report talks about thousands, or tens of thousands of participants.

[Lovas or Wachsler] As an eyewitness, I can say that when the crowd was at its maximum, at about 1725, before the police got going, about three fourths of

Wenceslas Square was full of people. This means in my opinion about 40,000-50,000 people, maybe even 70,000 including those stuck outside the square. [passage omitted]

1,000 GDR Citizens Flee Over Austrian Border

LD2108202689 Budapest MTI in English 1910 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 21 (MTI)—Last weekend, about 1,000 GDR citizens illegally crossed the Hungarian-Austrian border, frontier guard Captain Istvan Szoke told an MTI correspondent.

The majority made use of the opportunity presented by the pan-European picnic near Sopron, but many fled to Austria via other parts of this stretch of the border. The captain added that the frontier guards arrested about 800 GDR citizens on Saturday and Sunday, but many of them may well have made a second attempt which might have been successful.

Mr Szoke pointed out that, since for the time being such actions only elicit a verbal warning, GDR citizens are becoming increasingly self-confident and occasionally even become aggressive. One of them, who at the weekend used tear gas spray and provoked a fight with a patrol, was arrested, but the attorney did not give his consent to initiating proceedings against him, and so he was finally released.

Some GDR citizens fit their cars with stolen Hungarian number-plates when approaching border crossing-points, and when they are called on to present their passports, suddenly accelerate and drive over to Austria, imperiling the security of those present.

Captain Szoke also said that 1,000 of the 7,000 GDR citizens arrested this year had been given assistance in one form or another. Some of them reached the border with the help of their FRG relatives or acquaintances staying in Hungary, while others use the services of underground connections in the FRG.

Istvan Szoke recalled that in 1985, amid far stricter circumstances, a total 1,000 border violators were caught, while the figure this year has reached 15,000 and is expected to exceed 20,000 by the end of the year. The Hungarian frontier guard is not interested in fostering intentions of illegal border crossings, but they will continue to treat offenders in a humane manner in the future as well, he said.

Guards Shoot Escapees at Romanian, GDR Borders

Romanian Escapee Shot by Guard

LD2108175289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] There has been a shooting at the Hungarian-Romanian border. At 0100 yesterday, (Gyorgy Rizsko), (Laszlo Dumitran), (Pavel Pap), [first name indistinct] (Zdurinek), and (Karoly Dominstein) tried to escape to Hungary from Romania at Csengerufalu, but a Romanian border guard caught them. While they were being searched, a scuffle broke out between one of the detainees, (Gyorgy Rizsko), and the border guard. The Romanian guard's weapon discharged twice during the scuffle and (Rizsko) was seriously injured. (Rizsko's) comrades then disarmed the guard and emptied his weapon, which later was discarded on Romanian territory. After this, the fugitives went on to Hungary.

The wounded man was taken by ambulance from Csengerufalu to the hospital in Nyiregyhaza. (Gyorgy Rizsko), who suffered gunshot wounds, was accompanied to the hospital by (Laszlo Dumitran). (Dumitran) left the hospital, saying he would report to the police, but he has not been there since. The other three Romanian refugees have been given temporary residence permits by the Hungarian authorities. The circumstances of the case are under investigation.

GDR Escapee 'Accidentally Shot'

LD2208121789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] A Hungarian border guard accidently shot a GDR citizen last night along the County Vas border area. According to the preliminary investigation by the Gyor military prosecutor's office, it was an accident.

The tragedy happened after two border guards on duty attempted to stop, with warning shouts and warning shots, three GDR citizens from crossing the border in their immediate vicinity. One of them, Kurt Werner Schultz, hit the soldier who wanted to stop him with his bag and then kicked him. This was followed by a struggle, during which they rolled over into Austrian territory. Schultz tried to take away the border guard's weapon, and then the machine pistol, whose safety catch was released when the warning shots had been fired, went off. The GDR citizen received a fatal wound. The border guards took him to a doctor, but he could not be saved.

Kurt Werner Schultz's wife and 6-year-old child were not injured. The military prosecutor's office also found that they had tried to escape into Austria a day earlier; on that occasion, however, they were stopped and released with a warning. The Hungarian Foreign Ministry has requested that the Hungarian-Austrian committee for the investigation of extraordinary incidents along the border meet without delay.

SZDSZ Sends Letter to Gorbachev Via Embassy

LD1808202989 Budapest MTI in English 1942 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 18 (MTI)—On Friday, representatives of the Hungarian Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), handed over a letter addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the Supreme Soviet Council, at the Budapest Embassy of the Soviet Union.

In the letter, the Alliance welcomes the decision by the Soviet Government to bring to light the secret annex on the division of Eastern Europe which was contained in the 1939 non-aggression treaty signed between the Soviet Union and Germany, including the recent publications distancing the Soviet Union from the 1956 and 1968 interventions in Hungary and Czechoslovakia respectively.

These steps are welcomed by peoples of Eastern and central Europe, as they are considered moves towards a peaceful world order, based on the sovereignity of the nations, it is emphasized in the letter of SZDSZ. The Alliance also expresses the trust that the present process of annulling super power dictates and doctrines will continue, which in the past were nothing less than the violation of national sovereignity of countries. SZDSZ requests that the present Soviet leadership should officially condemn the 1956 and 1968 interventions, which were violations of international law. We are convinced that equality and friendship will be better foundations of our good-neighbourly relations, than the fear which was a ruling phenomena of the ties since the Stalin era, concludes the letter of SZDSZ addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev.

Defense Spokesman Comments on Nemeth Remarks

LD2208005189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth said yesterday in Cegled, partly in connection with 1968 and partly regarding the lessons of 1956, that the Hungarian Government not only condemns the intervention in Czechoslovakia, but with initiating the reform of the Warsaw Treaty, it also wishes to obtain institutional guarantees that such actions will not be repeated. What sort of guarantees did the head of state mean? My colleague Ferenc Ignac Kiss asked Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman for the Ministry of Defense.

[Begin recording] [Keleti] In my judgement, the most important guarantees have to be established within the countries. A transformation is in progress in Hungary which will also state the guarantees regarding the utilization of the Army—I am thinking of the amendment of the Constitution, and the new Constitution. We consider it important that the new constitution should state which person or which state body will determine the utilization of the Army, or which popular representative body will supervise the decision, and thus give a certain kind of democratic guarantee.

Within the Treaty, the process of developing appropriate guarantees has already begun. More than a month ago in Bucharest the session of the political advisory body of the Warsaw Treaty took place, where Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] said that a new type of relations is needed, stressing that there are no obligatory models.

[Kiss] Thus, essentially, this is a Hungarian initiative within the Warsaw Treaty.

[Keleti] In my judgement, yes, but the fact that the other countries have also agreed with this, is proved by the closing document issued by the session which formulates this spirit when it states our conviction that a universal model of socialism does not exist, and no one possesses a monopoly of the truth.

[Kiss] Finally, how do you assess Nemeth's stance that the Warsaw Treaty must guarantee on an international level that there will be no military interference in the internal affairs of the member states in the future?

[Keleti] In my view, this statement means a great deal, not only for those with acute hearing, but it is clear to everyone, that this is what we are talking about. But I would also like to add that this process will have to lead to practical steps. [end recording]

Pozsgay Interviewed on Workers Party Program

LD2108160889 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Interview with Presidium member Imre Pozsgay on 18 August, the eve of the publication of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP) program, by unidentified correspondent on "The Week" program—recorded; no video available]

[Text] [Correspondent] I have read this party program and noticed that in its 22 typewritten pages, the word 'Communist' occurs only once, and then in connection with the party's desire to unite the communist and social democratic values. Has this word become so unfashionable even inside the party?

[Pozsgay] Here in Eastern Europe, it has become quite unfashionable. The reasons for this are well known. After all, it was Stalinism which adopted communism as the goal on its banners, distorting it, so in this atmosphere it is quite risky not only to be a communist but even to be left-wing. This is a loss for humanity and shows how far development has led down a blind alley, how the experiment has failed.

It is not a question of the authors of the draft program rejecting what went before, but they accept it in a critical spirit, and they dissociate themselves from everything that cannot be accepted and cannot be followed by the people of the future, by the Hungary of the future.

[Correspondent] At the beginning of this program, I think in point two, it is said that the party, the party's policy, got the country into a crisis. If any ruling party in Western Europe were to include this sentence in its election manifesto, its own electors would be somewhat shocked and I think its chances of winning would be considerably reduced.

[Pozsgay] The electoral chances of the MSZMP have gotten worse without uttering these words. Here the goal is precisely to gain credibility. This is quite a different situation from that where Western European electors decide between the various offers in the market for parties. What is specifically involved here is that the MSZMP confesses and self-critically accepts the mistakes as well as the values of this period, knowing well that this criticism could not have been carried out by others for the time being. It was alone, it functioned as a state-party, a party-state. But from the moment it clarifies this, it has to appear as an independent party and a new party in the eyes of Hungarian public opinion.

Thus, the failure has to end with the confession; it cannot be done by proclaiming communists, MSZMP members, whip yourselves, tear your clothes and sprinkle ashes on your head and then we shall decide whether you can enter the new democracy. If the party can carry out this task itself, then from that moment onwards it can enter the new democracy, then it has to be regarded as a new party.

[Correspondent] In other words, the party, or, more precisely, the party leadership, with this document takes a bow and says: we have committed such and such mistakes, please give us a clean slate.

[Pozsgay] Please give us a clean slate; from that moment onwards it is not the same party. This is the bargain involved here. This is something that we have had to evaluate together with the people.

Now, with regard to the electoral alternatives, there is something else that belongs here. It seems that there is a complete, developed multiparty system in Hungary, in which the electors punish the previous government which got the country into the crisis and which managed that crisis.

[Correspondent] Of course, this how it is everywhere in the West.

[Pozsgay] Yes, of course. What is more, we know well from history that occasionally even a victorious government gets punished because the electors are afraid of its new, different decisions. Churchill won World War II for Britain and then immediately lost the elections. But here, today, this process could only be carried out with a serious crisis, a power vacuum, and it is questionable whether it would not lead to a catastrophe. Thus, there is a dual responsibility involved here; the phrase national respnsibility is often used. The national responsibility of the MSZMP is to deal with its own past and to accept a new progressive path. Whereas the national responsibility of the opposition and of the partner parties is that while they are preparing for government, for acceptance of responsibility for the country's fate they must not allow a power vacuum to come about; there should be not a politics of catastrophe but a politics of anticatastrophe in this country.

[Correspondent] If we look at the specifics mentioned by this program, it appears that there is hardly a social group, stratum or class in this country to whom the program does not promise something. The question will always be asked: What is the guarantee behind these promises? That is, what is the guarantee—apart from the statement that the party's promise is not empty words since the presence of the other parties and the presence of publicity guarantee that if the party retains power, it will carry out its promises. Is that a sufficient guarantee?

[Pozsgay] This guarantee is not enough. However, this program, because of its concepts, cohesion, and intellectual unity indicates that this party has reached this recognition, that it does not believe itself to be all-knowing and omnipotent, but wants to have its own abilities tested through competition. One other thing, which shows itself clearly in this program: The party will abandon the role of state-party and the role of leading party; it rejects this particular Stalinist and socialist dictatorial sense of mission.

This party no longer exists as a hindering force; from now on this party will not be the engine of bureaucracy but the receptor of the popular will. It is this conceptual change which this program wants to fit into and from this time onward it will be evaluated in comparison with the program of the others. Of course, it will also be said that these programs closely resemble each other.

[Correspondent] It is enough to look at the list of things that the MSZMP want to be in the future, as contained in this program. First of all, it would like a new name, socialist party, people's party, reform party, democratic party, the party of the future, national party. With a little malice one could ask what is left for the others? But, seriously, how far will the membership who heard radically different things in the last 30 years, and the party apparatus, which to this day, correctly or poorly, is carrying out the party's affairs, and which was trained for totally different tasks, recognize itself and this new party-to-be?

[Pozsgay] Yes, this will be the turning point which we have to reach and get beyond. This will be the test which the congress will have to pass. I gained certain experiences inside the apparatus. I know the mechanisms and interests which move its actions. I also know, however, that intellectually this represents a fairly formidable force, which, if it is rationalized and if its thinking is reorientated to a new program, will be able to serve it effectively. In this instance, I am not worried about resistance from the apparatus.

I am more concerned about the lack of understanding regarding the intention to make the members of the MSZMP turn away from the reflexes of 40 years and from the image of a society which was proclaimed differently and which was planned almost in a programmatic way. However, if those who read this program, for example the members of the MSZMP, go one step

further and compare the social program that was promised with the reality which has come about, they must see that reality failed to follow the ideals. The words travelled along one bank of the river and reality along the other.

Well, we now have to carry out this exercise; it is painful for everyone, not only for the members of the MSZMP, but if we can get beyond this and can reach a period of new reflexes and new undertakings, then in the end this program will be effective.

[Correspondent] So, you personally are not afraid that many, perhaps very many, perhaps a decisive number from the point of view of the party's future, will respond to this program by saying: We do not understand it, this is not what we wanted, we cannot represent this; and then what happens?

[Pozsgay] As there has been a law of association corresponding to the European level in force in Hungary since January this year, and if the promises of the political conciliatory talks are also realized, and if the law of association is supplemented by a party law, this program will not interfere with anybody's freedom. Someone who has to decide whether he want to carry on with this party or with some other party is not threatened in his personal fate or career, while earlier this was an almost fatal decision.

[Correspondent] It may not be a fatal decision for the individual, but it might well be fatal for the party.

[Pozsgay] Yes, it could be fatal. However, in this respect my view is that a lively party, which agrees on the fundamental issues but whose members belong to different tendencies with regard to the ways and means of implementation, has a greater attraction because it verifies in its own internal life that it wants truth instead of wanting to cover up the truth, as compared to a party which, though it might have 8-900,000 members, functions as a great political conglomerate, trying to encompass all political activity, thereby eradicating activity from the people, and existing only as a political means for adaptation.

Leaders Greet Afghan Najibullah on Anniversary

LD2108125189 Budapest MTI in English
1521 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 18 (MTI)—On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the declaration of Afghanistan's independence, Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council, Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP, cabled their greetings to Muhammad Najibullah, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and president of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Army Chief of Staff Leaves for Visit to Canada

LD2108122189 Budapest MTI in English
1005 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 21 (MTI)—At the invitation of Colonel-General Paul D. Manson, chief of staff of the Canadian Army, a Hungarian military delegation, headed by Colonel-General Jozsef Pacsek, chief of staff of the Hungarian Army, deputy minister of defence left for an official visit to Canada on Monday [21 August].

Bekes Party Leaders To Visit County Arad

LD1908134289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] The party leaders from County Arad have invited the County Bekes Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] leaders for their national holiday, 23 August. Why are they going? Eva Cseh speaks with secretary Jozsef Forrai.

[Forrai] Recently we received a letter from the first secretary of the county party committee in Arad, in which he informed us of their intention aimed at improving relations. Since we know that it is primarily through means of people's diplomacy that possible government manipulations can be counterbalanced and warded off, we are availing ourselves of this possibility with pleasure, and we will arrive in Arad with cooperation proposals pertaining to nearly every sphere of life.

[Cseh] What will you say to the people of Arad?

[Forrai] That the Romanian side should make traveling in at the border smoother. That the two countries' border should be open. We will propose that at one another's national holidays, we should guarantee the possibility for our citizens to freely carry over national symbols and emblems, to the commemorations in the two neighboring countries.

We would like to get a picture of the situation in County Arad regarding the systematization program. We will raise our proposal that council experts from County Bekes, perhaps reporters from the county paper, be able to obtain a genuine, credible picture of this program.

[Cseh] Will anything change as a result of the meeting of the County Bekes MSZMP committee with those from County Arad?

[Forrai] Relations have recently deteriorated, in spite of the multidirectional initiatives, which cannot absolve us morally.

Mazowiecki Attends Meetings, Speaks Out

Awaits Appointment Confirmation

AU2108125289 Paris AFP in English
1234 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 21 (AFP)—Poland's premier designate Tadeusz Mazowiecki has rejected a Communist Party demand that Solidarity and the party reach agreement on government policy before his appointment is ratified by parliament.

"I plan talks (with the Communist Party) soon, but first my nomination must be confirmed by parliament," Mr Mazowiecki told journalists in Warsaw Monday.

A Communist Party Central Committee plenum at the weekend passed a resolution calling for party "representation in a future government corresponding to its political weight."

The party also said that communist support for Mr Mazowiecki was contingent upon an agreement "on the programme and the political structure of the next government," making it clear that the agreement would have to be concluded before parliament approved Mr Mazowiecki's nomination as premier.

Mazowiecki Discusses 'Character'

LD2108173989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1515 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Interview with Taduesz Mazowiecki, prime minister designate and TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC chief editor, and his "editorial colleagues" Jacek Ambroziak, Anna Wcislo, and Jozef Duriasz by unidentified correspondent; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Taduesz Mazowiecki continues to be chief editor of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC. What sort of boss is he? We asked his editorial colleagues?

[Ambroziak] He has no weak sides, and the strongest is that he is honest, tells the truth, is quiet, but at the same time, is tough.

[Wcislo] A strong personality.

[Correspondent] The weakest aspect?

[Wcislo] He smokes cigarettes.

[Duriasz] Probably his strongest character trait is decisiveness and persistance in implementing that which he intends to do, and which he decides is justified.

[Correspondent] For the people; have your photograph taken. How will the opposition premier convince us about himself?

[Mazowiecki] There is only one way—always to tell the truth. I would like to convince people this way.

[Correspondent] Will truth be the government program?

[Mazowiecki] Madam, the program will be the truth in the sense that it will represent certain intentions. Of course, it will be a true program.

[Correspondent] But we are also impatient. We are now waiting for concrete results.

[Mazowiecki] Madam, me too, but how many days have passed since I was charged with this mission? [laughs]

[Correspondent] [laughs] Thank you.

Comments on KKW-OKP Talks

LD2108113389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] Members of the Presidia of the Solidarity National Executive Commission [KKW] and the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group [OKP] have been deliberating behind closed doors at the Gdansk Headquarters of Solidarity. Here is what Tadeusz Mazowiecki said after the deliberations.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] How would you evaluate this meeting?

[Mazowiecki] I think this meeting was very positive specifically the discussion focused on what friends are expecting from the new government, what the initial standpoints are, advice, and so on. That is (?directed) to me and I am pleased. [Words indistinct] is only the first one, (?it had an) initial character.

[Reporter] Did this meeting in some unambiguous way promise you assistance in your work?

[Mazowiecki] Yes. [Words indistinct] it promised assistance. [end recording]

[Announcer] The deliberating bodies requested Jacek Ambroziak to lead the news conference.

[Begin recording] [Ambroziak] At this meeting, it was decided to discuss the principles of permanent cooperation and exchange views and opinions between these two bodies. As to the eventual attitude of the government [word as heard] on the participation of members of the Polish United Workers Party in this new government—there was a discussion on this subject between members of both Presidia, but I would not say that it was arranged along the lines that just members of the KKW were behind one concept and members of the OKP behind the other, as these lines of division were completely changing. Some felt that this should be done, other were of the opposite view. It seems that, in principle, Premier Mazowiecki has already expressed his view on this

matter, speaking also in his television interview yesterday of a broad coalition. He spoke of this coalition in the sense that all reformatory forces finding themselves in parliament should take part in the creation of this new model of the life of our state and nation.

[Reporter] How long will we have to wait for the creation of the government?

[Ambroziak] Mr Mazowiecki would like to complete the government as soon as possible. He would like for the government to be complete by the end of August. [end recording]

Continues Talks, Meetings

LD2108164189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Tadeusz Mazowiecki, designated by the President for the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers, has continued talks and meetings today with representatives of various political forces and social milieux.

This morning he met Aleksander Bentkowski, chairman of the United Peasant Party parliamentary floor group, and this afternoon with his fellow associates of many years, members of the editorship of the monthly WIEZ, as well as activists of the Warsaw Club of the Catholic Intelligentsia. [passage omitted]

He also was received by Bishop Tadeusz Goclowski, the Gdansk ordinary, and held talks with Lech Walesa.

Meets Lay Catholics

LD2108183289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] While this program was underway, we received news concerning Tadeusz Mazowiecki's further talks. The newly-designated premier spoke by telephone with Jerzy Tuowicz, editor-in-chief of the TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, and with members of the editorial board. He also met with PAX Association Chairman Zenon Komender, Chairman of the Christian-Social Union Kazimierz Morawski, and Chairman of the Polish Catholic-Social Association Wieslaw Gwizdz.

Mazowiecki Wants Government of All Forces

AU2108124289 Paris AFP in English 1225 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Jean-Eudes Barbier report]

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 21 (AFP)—The Solidarity-led government to be formed by prime minister-designate, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, will inherit a "catastrophic" economic situation from the Communists in which 20 per cent of Poles face potential "starvation", the Solidarity daily GAZETA warned.

The Monday edition of the paper said it was a situation "never before seen" in Poland, in which the domestic market is "completely disorganized", the currency is "destroyed", the budget remains "off course", and "a cold rage is seething among the people".

"This is why Poles did not dance in the streets" when Mr Mazowiecki was named Saturday to be Poland's first non-Communist prime minister in 45 years.

"We do not expect miracles. The only thing that can be done today, is to work to open doors for tomorrow," the paper said.

Though Mr Mazowiecki's nomination must still be approved by a parliamentary vote, he was practically assured a majority.

Various sources said a hand-vote could be held Wednesday, after which the new prime minister would give his first major speech giving the broad outlines of his program.

But there was no immediate official confirmation of this date.

Mr Mazowiecki confirmed in an interview in GAZETA Monday that he wanted his government to include representatives from all the forces in the Polish parliament.

On French radio Monday, he said he hoped to have a cabinet formed by the end of August.

This coincided with a statement by Bronislaw Geremek, one of Solidarity's senior advisors, who told French radio that the Communists monopoly over news in Poland must be broken.

Mr Geremek said the Communists wanted to maintain their hold over the defense, interior, foreign affairs and television ministries in the new government.

"They have and they will have the army and the police, but they cannot have the news. Economic reform cannot be carried out without this process of democratization," he said.

He also called on Poles to keep "political realism" in mind, regarding Warsaw's relations with the Soviet Union.

"The limits must be established and never passed," he said. "It is only the level of application that has changed."

Mr. Mazowiecki, meanwhile, told GAZETA that he was "surprised" when asked to be prime minister, and felt as though "a hundred kilograms pebbles had been placed on his head."

But he said that in his eyes, a government that included all parties in parliament was the only way to bring Poland out of its crisis.

Solidarity Daily Article Views 'Our Premier'
AU2108111689 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 18-20 Aug 89 p 1

[Ernest Skalski commentary: "Our Premier!"]

[Text] August 17 is drawing to a close, another historic day just like 4 June, but talks on forming a grand coalition are still continuing. The distribution of portfolios among coalition members and possible candidates is going to be the subject of discussion for still some time to come. Even the identity of the premier has not been decided yet; the only thing certain is that he will be a "Solidarity" man. Our journalistic duty forces us to share our knowledge with readers, therefore I must say that although Bronislaw Geremek and Jacek Kuron are mentioned as candidates, the most likely candidate is Tadeusz Mazowiecki, an opposition politician with over 30 years experience who did not want to run either for the Sejm or Senate this year.

It seems almost certain that the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] will occupy the defense and interior ministries in this government, and perhaps others as well. This is the result of a double concession by the opposition side. First of all, Lech Walesa said he was ready for "Solidarity" to take over the whole government, which would correspond to the election results. Then he wanted a government of the United Peasant Party and Democratic Party, without the PZPR. Finally, we have agreed to a grand coalition, but we have not made any concession in one fundamental matter. The leading force in the government will no longer be the PZPR. As of today, that leading force is "Solidarity"! What seemed to be an incomprehensible political detour by Walesa has turned out to be an excellent political maneuver.

The fact that today means more than just a reshuffle of forces is illustrated by the voting on the Sejm statement about the intervention in Czechoslovakia 21 years ago. Members of the party that bears historic responsibility for Poland's involvement in this action voted for this statement almost unanimously. Together with a similar Hungarian statement, this adds a new quality to the entire shape of relations among countries that can no longer be called a communist bloc.

Breakthroughs like this begin more things than they end. The end of a certain historical period is less important than the shape of the period which we must now establish. What Lech Walesa described as a profound reform a few days ago is important. Right now there is a great chance that this is defitely the beginning of a fundamental change of system. Only on that condition does this entire venture make any sense.

Probability of Solidarity-Led Government Viewed
AU2108112189 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 18-20 Aug 89 p 1

[Krzysztof Pilawski commentary: "SZTANDAR MLODYCH Comments"]

[Text] That which seemed impossible a few weeks back has now become fact. The configuration of political forces has literally changed overnight. A new coalition has come into being, which through its majority in parliament, will now have the deciding voice in the way the future is shaped in our country.

I must confess that I watched Walesa, Malinowski, and Jozwiak shake hands with each other with mixed feelings. The new partners of "Solidarity" have proclaimed that they are guided by the concern for the nation's and society's welfare. However, I still have in my mind the recent vote of confidence in the premiership of General Kiszczak, when the majority of the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party deputies voted for him.... I believe that the reason for the sudden shift of the two parties to the coalition is the situation existing in the two parties, their increasing conflicts, tendencies to disintegration, and their fear of losing social support.

One can but ponder what it was that suddenly influenced Lech Walesa to make a statement that was not subject to prior consultation with the "Solidarity" leadership groups, or with the Citizens Parliamentary Club. It may be that the growing criticism of parliamentary opposition, the slow growth of "Solidarity" membership in the factories, the loss of control over union organizations, and the divisions in "Solidarity," so dangerous for all the supporters of Lech Walesa before the upcoming "Solidarity" conference, may have been instrumental here.

Facts are facts, however. We have a new coalition. Now is the time to begin asking questions about the future. Will the new government have society's backing, and if so, will it make use of it? Will it succeed in guiding the country out of the crisis? What methods does it propose to use? Is the heritage of People's Poland—such as the freely available education, the health service, the right to work, and the financial social security supports, now under threat? What will the new government's foreign policy be?

The new coalition strikes directly at the present position of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. Its representatives will no doubt get the Interior and National Defense Ministries, possibly others, but their role in Cabinet, as in Parliament, will now be limited. No surprise therefore, that harsh words have been uttered threatening open political conflict and the destruction of the "roundtable" accords, and so on and so forth. These initial reactions are, it seems to me, too emotional. The new situation gives us a chance to fundamentally renew

the PZPR and transform it into a real party of the Polish left—a party that would be capable of securing much wider social support than it has managed to do so far.

Walesa Appeals for End to Communist 'Threats'

LD2108201789 Warsaw PAP in English
1915 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 21—Here is a statement by Lech Walesa received today by PAP from the Solidarity press office:

"Poland needs deep reforms. Only work on their concrete shape secures credibility of political forces operating in Poland. This credibility cannot be achieved by a policy of threats and blackmail. It will not change the tragic situation of this country. It will not ensure confidence, so necessary this day for wielding power, to those who lack it.

"Therefore, I appeal to the PUWP [Polish Workers Party] to abandon the tactics presented in the Central Committee's stand of August 19 in favour of building a programme of deep reforms, both economic and political ones which will be undoubtedly appreciated by society," the statement concluded.

Further Walesa Comments

AU2108122089 Paris AFP in English
1212 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 21 (AFP)—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa on Monday urged the Polish Communist Party to stop making threats and start working positively for the future.

"The Communist Party must reform itself, abandon threats and instead start making positive steps," the Solidarity leader told journalists in his home town of Gdansk.

Mr Walesa was responding to a resolution passed by a Party Central Committee plenum at the weekend calling for party "representation in a future government corresponding to its political weight."

The party also warned that communist support for premier-designate Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who would be Poland's first non-communist leader in more than 40 years, was contingent on agreement with Solidarity "on the programme and the political structure of the next government."

Mr Walesa said in Gdansk Monday that the party resolution would have "no influence."

Walesa Invites FRG Banks To Establish Branches

AU2208092489 Hamburg BILD in German
22 Aug 89 pp 1, 8

[Interview with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa by Mainhardt Graf Nayhauss: "Walesa Invites German Banks"; date, place not given]

[Text] BILD: You want to improve the economic situation in your country. Do you expect people to make new sacrifices?

Walesa: The future can only be built on the basis of wisely managed work, justice, economic efficiency, and a policy of non-interference.

BILD: Inflation is running at 100 percent in Poland. Do you plan a monetary reform?

Walesa: We are capable of solving even more difficult tasks. The question is: When? Today one cannot tackle such a thing. One might as well shoot oneself in that case. The economic situation is very dramatic. However, the West considers it to be even worse than it actually is.

BILD: How do you want to tackle the most difficult tasks?

Walesa: Is Poland really such a poor country? I think that in some respects it is even richer than the FRG. However, we are lacking an efficient organization. In your country over 80 percent of the economy is in private hands. In our country over 90 percent belongs to the state. Once we reach your percentage in private ownership we will probably be richer (than you).

BILD: What can we do?

Walesa: First, you could do something about our debts. We will certainly pay them back, but under a different economic system in Poland. Second: The West Germans should open branches of their banks in Poland. We give you the required space, the safes, and computer connections to the centers in the FRG. We invite you to do business with our country.

5 Billion in the Stockings

BILD: Can you give us an example?

Walesa: If the Lenin shipyard receives a large-scale order from Sweden, it cannot accept it because we do not have the money. If your banks had branches in Poland, we could borrow money there. Where does the bank get the money? Poland's people keep $3-5 billion at home in their stockings. These sums are not used economically. No one trusts the communists' bank, but this would be different if we had Western banks. In short, we would be in a position to pay for the necessary reforms with our money.

BILD: About 80,000 ethnic Germans were not allowed to found a cultural association in Opole. Will the new government adopt a different approach?

Walesa: I do know whether there are 100,000 or 80,000 ethnic Germans there. I have not counted them. However, I fear that all of them will leave Poland, and that the last one will turn off the light. For this reason, the authorities have taken various decision to keep an eye on these developments. The large-scale emigration that has been taking place over the past few years is destabilizing our situation.

Walesa Invited To Pay Visit to United Kingdom
LD2108135889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] British television has reported that the Solidarity leader Lech Walesa has been invited to visit Great Britain in the autumn as a guest of the British government. The first mention of the possibility of a visit by Walesa to Great Britain and meeting with Margaret Thatcher appeared yesterday in the Sunday Express weekly. The chief political editor stated that Mrs Thatcher will welcome the charismatic leader of Solidarity. If, however, it is a question of her committing herself to eventual economic help for Poland, she will exhibit caution and will wait for signs that the new government led by Solidarity will have chances of survival.

Walesa Comments on U.S. Congressmen's Visit
LD2108184389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Excerpts] A group of U.S. congressmen visited Gdansk today. They met Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa. The delegation from the U.S. Congress is led by Senator Alan Cranston. [passage omitted]

Here is a commentary by Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa after the U.S. congressmen's visit:

[Walesa] We, as a union, and I, Lech Walesa, have entered the road of administering, of governing. Here we really have to show that things are going to be better. People's living conditions are really (?hard); we know that. We did not want to do this, but now it has happened and now everything has to be done so that things are better for Poland. That is precisely what I am doing. Now we are going to devote all our efforts and means to make sure that people get interested in Poland and that Poland gets greater assistance than hitherto.

Jaruzelski Receives U.S. Senate Delegation
LD1808214489 Warsaw PAP in English 1849 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 18—President Wojciech Jaruzleki received here today a delegation of the U.S. Senate with disciplinary spokesman of the Senate's majority Senator Alan Cranston.

In the talks, the sides stressed the significance of George Bush visit to Poland last July to the further comprehensive development of relations between both states. A special stress was put on the problematique [as received] of economic cooperation as well as contacts between both parliaments and nations.

The meeting was attended by U.S. Ambassador to Poland John R. Davis.

Jaruzelski Meets U.S. Holocaust Council Leaders
LD2108184689 Warsaw PAP in English 1709 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 21—President Wojciech Jaruzelski today received leaders of the delegation from the American Holocaust Memorial Council: Businessman and chairman of the council Harvey Mayerhoff, also businessman and chairman of the council's international relations Miles Lerman, journalist Jeane Kirkpatrick, former U.S. ambassador at the United Nations, and a famous commentator George Will.

The talks concerned the protection of Jewish martyrdom places in Poland and cooperation with international organisations concerned with holocaust problems. Present was chairman of the Council for Memory of Struggle and Martyrdom Roman Paszkowski.

Sejm Receives Letters on Prime Minister Post
LD2108161489 Warsaw PAP in English 1547 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 21—Polish Sejm speaker Professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz received letters from President Wojciech Jaruzelski containing motions on recalling Czeslaw Kiszczak from the post of prime minister, in connection with his resignation, and on appointing Tadeusz Mazowiecki to the office.

Kozakiewicz Interviewed on Post of Premier
LD2108193289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Interview with Speaker of the Polish Sejm Mikolaj Kozakiewicz by unidentified correspondent; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr Speaker, we have learned that the Sejm has received a letter from the president with a motion to appoint Tadeusz Mazowiecki to the office of chairman of the Council of Ministers. Can we show this letter to our viewers?

[Kozakiewicz] Yes, but you will be showing copies which are on my desk, because the original letters are in the safe. They are secure, but these are the copies of the two letters. I have received one letter in which the president, as a result of General Kiszczak's resignation from the task of forming a government, moves that the Sejm recall Citizen Czeslaw Kiszczak from the office of chairman of

the Council of Ministers, and another letter in which, with reference to the appropriate article of the constitution, he presents to the Sejm a motion to appoint Tadeusz Mazowiecki to the office of chairman of the Council of Ministers.

[Correspondent] Does it follow from this that the Sejm will be voting on both of these motions at the 23d [August] session?

[Kozakiewicz] Probably yes. The reason I say probably yes is because I shall only be able to say definitely yes when Premier-designate Tadeusz Mazowiecki reports to me that he is ready to make a statement and submit to a vote at the next Sejm session. I expect that this will happen on the 23d.

Jaruzelski, Rakowski Meet; Discuss Plenum

LD2108173889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] I have just been told that President Wojciech Jaruzelski has received Mieczyslaw Rakowski and members of the party leadership. The president was presented with conclusions from the Central Committee position adopted at the 14th plenum. In particular, the prospects for forming a broad coalition government built on the basis of national confidence and accord were discussed.

PZPR Caucus Statement on Forming Government

AU2108120489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Aug 89 p 2

["Statement" adopted by the PZPR Deputies Caucus on 17 August]

[Text] Poland is once again faced with a dramatic choice. Will we find sufficient boldness and imagination to address the fundamental problems of the people and the nation seriously and effectively, or will we get bogged down in petty politics, parliamentary banter, and grandiloquent gestures? Will we unite in the face of a historic challenge? Will we manage to rise above the level of tactical coalitions?

We need new thoughts, new concepts, and new solutions. The deputies of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Caucus suggest that urgent consideration be given to the idea of a supra-party government, a government that could be supported all of us or by an overwhelming majority, a government that would not get embroiled in political disputes and would not dissipate its energy in disputes over appointments and in seeking revenge for wrongs committed in the past.

The emergence of a government of this kind should be preceded by the conclusion of an agreement between all parliamentary forces that will set out the tasks and powers of the government. Personnel decisions should be a secondary consideration. Members of the government should be appointed on the basis of the trust that is bestowed on them as individuals. They will not represent their parties, and they will be responsible to parliament alone.

However, irrespective of what form the government will ultimately take, the PZPR Deputies Caucus welcomes the readiness to participate directly in running the country that has been expressed by the Citizens Parliamentary Club and other social forces. We see this as being a valuable new element that is essential for our society and state.

PZPR Secretary, Deputy on Party Thinking

LD1708153389 Warsaw PAP in English 1419 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 17—A fundamental discussion is being continued on the subject: What next with the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] which by agreeing to political pluralism has accepted entirely new reality in the country's life. The statements made by PUWP Central Committee member, Sejm deputy Marek Bartosik and published in the Poznan-based "WPROST" weekly constitute an important voice in the discussion. Nine years ago Bartosik propagated the so-called horizontal structures within the PUWP.

Marek Krol, a short time ago the spokesman for the PUWP parliamentary floor group, is the editor-in-chief of the "WPROST" weekly. At the second part of the 13th PUWP Central Committee plenum on July 29 he was chosen Central Committee secretary. In an unprecedented event, the debates were attended by members of the PUWP caucus.

Unity Dogma

Following are some of Marek Bartosik's remarks:

"Thinking was being killed under the motto of striving for the party's unity. And only where various views and conceptions clash the optimum solutions may be worked out. For years we have declared that we want to strengthen the role of basic party units, that they need more subjectivity, etc. What has it come to? Virtually nothing. Whenever those of different opinions raise their heads, immediately voices of defenders of the unity dogma are being heard. The fear of losing control over thinking in the party was one of the worst and most persistent mistakes."

PUWP Parliamentary Floor Group

The "WPROST" weekly's Q: Was or is? (the mistake)

A: "Unfortunately, often it still is, but it is changing. The PUWP floor group was presented a list of party cndidates to the tribunal of state to be approved by the Sejm. We got acquainted with the list and instead, as it used to

be, to obey the order we asked the candidates to present themselves. Following the meeting with them the floor group proposed its own candidatures. Thus a list was made composed of the two sets, a secret ballot was held and those who got most votes passed and the candidates with the lowest number of votes were rejected. It has become clear that the caucus is not going to be a voting machine any longer, a mechanical executor of decisions taken 'at the top'."

Today, one has to look in a different way at the PUWP caucus' statutory position within the party structures, at its cooperation with the CC and Political Bureau.(...) The caucus is PUWP's legally elected representation in the parliament and, whatever happens within it and whatever changes occur, it will remain an unquestionable representative of the party's interests towards everybody.

Q. Is what has happened a beginning or an end of alternations within the PUWP.

A. It is obviously a beginning, but not the first one. What was going on before the 9th congress—what we have already discussed- - was an attempt to start decisive changes within the party that was completely different then the earlier ones after subsequent crises. That was of a different quality. We, within the horizontal structures, were taking into account then the presence of a political opposition and the ensuing necessity of a political struggle for the rule over people. Martial law froze everything, also the discussion within the party.(...)

An average partyman is over 50. For those at 20 this is a 30- year gap. For them, we are political mastodons.

General Change of Everything

There must be a general change of everything within the party: Of ideological guidelines, organizational structures, personnel policy. It must be a deep cut. Models, dogmas, axioms, even the firmest ones, must be aired. For example, the question of religious belief became private at the 10th plenum. Has this caused any problems?

The period when the party was the state's political department has been closed for good. There is not a party state or a state party anymore. The party must give up the role of a constitutional leader and come back to its proper role of one among political parties. Whether it becomes the leading party will depend solely on the quality of its political concepts, ability of implementing them and on its persuasiveness.

While the entire country is striving for self-governing and decentralization, the party must become polycentric, too. The powers of voivodship structures must be expanded to make them autonomous—as far as entering into local alliances with other political parties. Providing this helps settle important questions of a given territory, Marek Bartosik told the "WPROST" weekly.

ZSL Criticizes PZPR Stance on Coalition

LD2108211589 Warsaw PAP in English 1958 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 21—Chairmen of voivodship committees of the United Peasants' Party [UPP/ZSL] held a meeting here today, attended by members of the UPP Central Committee Presidium.

The debaters said that their party's consent to enter a coalition proposed by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa ensued from the outcome of the parliamentary elections and was a historic necessity stemming from the need to save the country through overcoming the protracting economic and political crisis.

The meeting criticized the PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party/PZPR] Central Committee stance adopted at the 14th plenum which levelled charges about a rift in the hitherto coalition. On the contrary, the meeting said, a stance taken by the UPP created favourable conditions to appoint a government of national responsibility and form a broad coalition of all reformatory forces Poland needs so badly.

The meeting stressed that the stance by the PUWP Central Committee was a confirmation of an instrumental treatment of the UPP and of the PUWP's will to continue to deprive the Peasants' Party of political and organizational independence.

At the same time, the debaters voiced a conviction that a considerable part of Poles did not share that stance. What they want is economic stability for Poland as soon as possible and social peace instead of protracting political disputes, the participants said.

UPP To Convene Plenary Meeting End of Aug

LD2108191889 Warsaw PAP in English 1824 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 21—Presidium of the UPP [United Peasants Party] Central Committee today acquainted itself with the course of talks over the formation of a new government. It said that a coalition government of national responsibility led by Tadeusz Mazowiecki and including all the reformist forces represented in the Parliament may be a successful government with broad social basis, able to steer this country out of the economic crisis and to reinforce the reforms. The Presidium decided to summon the 9th UPP Central Committee plenary meeting for the last days of August.

Labor Party Welcomes Mazowiecki's Assignment

LD2008201689 Warsaw PAP in English 1910 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 20—The Provisional Main Board of the Labour Party welcomes the fact of assigning the mission of forming a government to the first, after the

war, candidate from outside the PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party] and hopes that it will open the way to taking effective measures aimed at overcoming political and economic crisis.

The LP Provisional Main Board approved the stand of its chairman Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki who had considered Czeslaw Kiszczak's suggestion to grant two ministerial portfolios to members of the Labour Party as presently impossible to accept by the political group of a firmly opposition character, regardless of full understanding of the need of all political parties' participation in solving current urgent problems in the state and social life.

Food Prices, Supply Situation Examined

LD2108200289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] We have had a free market for 3 weeks now, so what do prices and supplies look like?

By now, we have to pay Z940 for 1 kg of full-fat cream cheese and Z180 for 1 liter of full-cream milk. Dairy products have gone up by 30 percent, on average. They have gone up and they are available in the shops, at least for the time being. There has been no continuous availability of the goods covered by the official prices. A company dairy shop sold out of 800 liters of skimmed milk, at Z30 a liter, on the spot. The inexpensive low-fat cream cheese also disappeared in a flash. The conclusions for the trade people are obvious: They should include greater amounts of inexpensive products in their orders, especially since suppliers are able to fill these orders. On the other hand, and this is worth emphasizing, children's foods—Lactovit 01 and vitamin-enriched milk—are available at all times.

Minister of Trade Interviewed on Price Hikes

AU1808181489 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Aug 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Jozef Oleksy, minister of trade union affairs, Wojciech Krawczyk: "On the Edge of Danger"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Krawczyk] Your talks with trade unionists in the presence of representatives of several ministries ended last Wednesday. Although the accord you reached might turn out to be inadequate in the face of the new strikes and protests, how did you reach it?

[Oleksy] The talks were difficult on account of the determination of the trade unionists. One of the reasons why they were so determined was the abominal state of some enterprises where the financial situation is determined by external economic conditions, and not profits. The determination of our partners in the talks was also the result of the situation in Poland; the inflation, shortages of goods, and the failure of wages to keep up with prices. The talks were dramatic. Several times we reached a deadlock because of unrealistic demands and strike action. It was difficult to reach a compromise. We reached an accord with trade unionists of the State Bus Enterprise and health service only after 18 hours of talks. We talked to the railwaymen from 1800 to 0300. We talked with communications workers just as long. When we finally reached an accord with them, post office employees in Rzeszow began a wage strike the very next day.

[Krawczyk] What do you mean by "unrealistic demands"? At what point do demands become unrealistic?

[Oleksy] If people ask for a pay rise of Z135,000 without further explanation, we consider such a demand to be fiction. It is quite simply impossible to fulfill it. Generally speaking, the trade union wage increase proposals were frequently exaggerated and beyond the means of the state treasury and the economic capability of individual enterprises or branches of industry. The wage proposals also revealed a certain egalitarianism. Trade unionists in one branch wanted exactly the same increases as those already granted to workers in other branches. That is why the talks took so long, which does not mean that the compromise that was achieved with such difficulty is economically unjustified. I personally had the impression that some of the wage demands had no bearing whatsoever on work quality and productivity, but were merely meant to be bonuses for turning up at work and compensation for the cost of living.

Of course, it would not be fair for me to say that the demands of the trade unionists were unfounded. The government has done all it can to examine the economic figures in individual branches of industry in good time and prevent the effects of inflation and free market prices.

[Krawczyk] Numerous strikes and protests action took place at the same time as the talks. They heated the atmosphere in the country and put pressure on the talks. How strong was this pressure?

[Oleksy] People are becoming convinced that the government only talks to the trade unions when they are about to go on strike or when it is necessary to strike in order to achieve something. I could prove that that is not the case, but the conviction of many unionists about the effectiveness of the "strike weapon" places me in a hopeless situation. So strikes are increasing, and their participants are convinced that in this way they will force the government to open up some secret treasure chest containing money for wage increases. And yet fulfilling every single wage demand is a problem because, in view of the absence of funds, one has to take from some in order to give to others. As a result, tariffs and prices of goods increase and tax income diminishes, which diminishes citizens resources and enhances the catastrophic budget deficit.

[Krawczyk] It seems that the wage demands are dominated by collective egoism, which leads to even greater demands intertwined with cliches about the need to enhance reform, increase productivity, rationalize employment, and make further sectors of the economy market-orientated. As a permanent negotiating partner of the trade unions, how do you view this "reformist" rhetoric?

[Oleksy] I think that, regardless of the economic and social crisis, we are dealing with a crisis in social consciousness caused by a lack of preparation or desire to take part in the pro-market orientation of the economy. This lack is frequently hidden behind reformist phraseology. And yet the market as a mechanism that controls the economy will not be merciful. Even restructuring will be painful. Employers will stop looking for employees, inefficient enterprises will go bankrupt, and it will often be impossible to obtain the job one wants whenever and wherever one wants. However, I do not think any government would gain credit by ruthlessly reforming the economy in such a direction.

[Krawczyk] Concluding the talks, both sides agreed to meet in 2 or 3 months in order to modify the decisions reached. Will the present strike action bring forward in time your meetings and those of other government members with trade unionists?

[Oleksy] Yes. Negotiations with representatives of some industrial branches will commence soon.

[Krawczyk] Is the government considering adopting a harsher attitude toward the strikes and demands? Has it realized that sooner or later someone will have to say stop?

[Oleksy] Certainly in the country's present situation, this process cannot go on much longer. The time is approaching when some government or other will have to say that any further attempt to achieve wage increases by striking is useless. How the trade unions will react to that is another matter.

[Krawczyk] Two recent developments may increase the tension in the country. One of them is the statement by the "Solidarity" authorities encouraging this union's bodies to take part in protest action, and the other is the danger that some workers will launch political demands. What could be the result of these?

[Oleksy] If political demands and slogans become the basis of strike action in enterprises, the leaderships of the political forces and trade unions may be unable to continue their role as mediators and representatives of political processes. They will simply lose control over these processes. As far as I understand it, both the National Trade Union Confederation and "Solidarity" want to maintain their ties with the rank-and-file, which thinks that the reforms are too slow or too painful, at the same time as which "Solidarity" wants to take fuller advantage of the election results; the crisis in the cabinet; and the certain erosion of ties between the Polish United Workers Party, United Peasant Party, and Democratic Party. This unfavorable state of affairs from the point of view of the coalition-government side is perpetuating negative domestic processes and contributing to society's disintegration.

Once again the dangers to the country and people are increasing. This must be understood by all the political and social forces that met at the "roundtable" and that wish to implement its decisions properly. The country's welfare must be interpreted in an identical way by every single component of public life. Only then is it possible to form concepts, establish modes of action, and outline agreements, and the best way of doing all this is when there is a grand coalition.

[Krawczyk] My final question is addressed to you as a Sejm deputy and politician: What sort of government might be able to alter the unfavorable situation in our country?

[Oleksy] You mean a government capable of solving a series of urgent problems which include a continuation of the economy's pro-market orientation, the halting of inflation, the establishment of a minimum level of market equilibrium, a restructuring of debts, and an improvement in the wage and pension systems? These are enormously complicated tasks that require a long time. I do not think a single government is capable of dealing with all of them.

I think we need the kind of government whose composition and the way it has been formed will convince society that it is a genuinely new cabinet that no longer fits into the conventional mold. After all, the June elections caused a fundamental change in the situation in Poland, therefore people expect this change to be reflected in the new Council of Ministers.

I myself as a deputy will try and see to it that, despite all the differences that divide Poles, they all understand what we call the country's welfare permanently and identically. I will oppose anything that enhances formal divisions or makes daily life and work difficult.

Farmers Propose Using U.S. Dollars

LD1908191389 Warsaw PAP in English 1732 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Walbrzych, Aug 19—Solidarity Trade Union of private farmers in south-western town of Ladek Zdroj proposed to a local co-operative that U.S. dollars be used alongside Polish currency zloty in selling it their farm products.

Farmers in Ladek Zdroj would like to sell wheat for 21 thousand zlotys or 3 U.S. dollars, a quintal of rye—17 thousand zlotys or 2.5 U.S. dollar, and one kg of pig on the hooves 5 thousand zlotys or 35 cents and head of beef for 2,100 zlotys or 30 cents.

Further Reports on Work Stoppages, Situation

Katowice Strikes Continue

LD2108130189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] The news flowing in from the country is still not reassuring.

[Correspondent] The miners of the Marcel, Morcinek and Grodziec mines are still on strike. The wage demands of the striking workforces have not changed. Their basic demand is the granting of a Z300,000 wage for those working underground and Z200,000 for surface workers for the so-called black days, that is from Monday to Friday. The strike action is also continuing at the Przyjazn coking plant in Dabrowa Gornicza.

The strike is also continuing in the Tarnowskie Gory energy enterprise. In association with the lack of a reply by the director to the demands of the striking workforce, the Tarnowskie Gory energy Generation district reports that in the case of a failure, lines serving hospitals, health centers, Ministry of Internal Affairs units, Polish Army units, and food stores will be repaired in priority order.

Roundup of Strike Situation

LD2108191689 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Excerpts] As in previous days, strikes are ending in some parts of the country, while beginning in others.

A warning strike took place at the Belchatow electric power plant from 0800 to 1200 today. Nine power units, since three are undergoing repairs, worked for 2 hours, with power reduced to 320-megawatts.

[Begin recording] [Jan Tokarz, deputy manager of the Belchatow plant] The power station, out of its own available resources, may propose to members of the workforce a pay rise of only 48,000. I hope that goodwill on both sides will lead to a solution of this conflict. [end recording]

Delegations of employees of other electric power stations in Poland are arriving in Belchatow.

The Lodz section of the Union of Polish Teachers declared a protest action, only in the form of strike-readiness, for the moment. If this does not lead to talks with the authorities, a 1-day warning strike will take place on 6 September. If this has no result, a continuous strike will begin on 18 September. [passage omitted]

After a month, once again a strike in the Poznan ambulance service. Employees are demanding pay increases of 1,500 zloties an hour for senior staff; 1,200 for middle-ranking staff; and 1,000 zloties an hour for ambulancemen. [passage omitted]

Trade unionists in the town of Police have called off their strike. A commission representing both unions negotiated an increase in average pay of up to 205,000 zloties from 1 September. Other postulates—the protection of the environment, changes in certain regulations, and welfare issues—still have to be settled and there will be talks on these matters.

[Begin recording] [Kazmierz Drzazga, of Police Solidarity] I think that things did not end in a strike, to a large extent thanks to the great awareness and discipline of the work force. Certainly, our wage demands were not fully met, but the awareness of the dangers posed by a stoppage of the enterprise, as also of the opportunities which, we think Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government may create, had a decisive effect on our decision.

[Roman Pozerski, of Police Solidarity] Taking into account the fact that a stoppage at the enterprise, such an enterprise as the Police chemical plant, would not occur without any penalties that there would be great losses, irreversible losses, the good sense of the work force, the discipline of this work force, prevailed to the advantage of the enterprise and also to the advantage of the work force, so as not to halt the enterprise. [end recording]

Strikes 'All Over Poland'

LD2108221889 Warsaw PAP in English 2156 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 21—Working crews continue to protest actions and strikes over pay in enterprises all over Poland.

The "Marcel" mine has been on strike for the sixth day already. Also mines "Morcinek" and "Grodziec" went on strike in the Katowice Province. Talks between representatives of striking crews and of other mines, leaders of the hard coal community and Senator Leszek Piotrowski started today.

In this connection the National Mining Commission at the Solidarity trade union passed a statement to PAP today in which it stated that the continuing strikes that had started at "Marcel" last Aug 16 and spread to "Morcinek" in Kaczyce and "Grodziec" in Bedzin had not been coordinated with the union.

The Commission turned to local leaders of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, the Working Group for Holding Free Elections and Solidarity members who led the strike to end it immediately as at present such a protest serves forces which do not agree with transformations in Poland.

Also today Chairman of the Federation of Miners Unions Rajmund Moric sent to PAP a statement which said in part: "Last Aug 16 a one-hour protest action was staged at the initiative of the Solidarity of Upper Silesia.

"Our factory organizations actively supported the acation. It was a surprise to me that some links of other union structures (I hope that they are not political) treated the action as a possibility of undermining the round table accords, aimed against those forces in Poland which strive for national reconciliation and emergence from the crisis without deteriorating the living standards of working people.

"I realize that Solidarity structures are not uniform. Nevertheless, I am of the opinion that internal games should be played with party or union structures. Crews should not be affected by results of political games.

"Strikes in mining result from general destabilisation. I turn to deputies and senators to examine in the nearest future the place and role of mining in our economy and stop inconsiderate attacks on this sector of the Polish economy.

"In my view, mining crews participation in strikes in was chiefly caused by concern about their future. [sentence as received]

"I state that the federation of miners unions will always defend the interests of miners.

"These problems will be discussed at a meeting tomorrow."

Also today a strike continued at a coking department at the Katowice steelworks. The situation was getting more tense. Strikers did not allow technical supervision staff to enter the premises of the department, neither did they inform the management on the technical state of equipment and the course of production processes.

A sit-in continued at the Tarnowskie Gory power industry sector on Monday. Strikers announced that they would not repair possible break-downs with the exclusion of the most important centres of health service, army, police, production enterprises and foodstores.

The Belchatow power plant stopped work for four hours today.

On the same day a strike started at the "Andropol" cotton industry enterprise in Andrychow, southern Poland. The crews pay demands exceed the enterprises financial possibilities.

Light Industry Federation Demands

LD2208082189 Lodz Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Today, [21 August] we have received a statement from the Federation of Independent Self-Governing Trade Unions of the Light Industry Employees. This is the text of it:

The dramatic struggle of our work crew for survival is continuing. Justified pay demands caused by the extremely high prices in the food and industrial goods market are intensifying. Many of our enterprise trade union organizations are starting to lead these justified protests. Their activity has the full support and help of our federation. Let me remind you that our demands concern:

—Achieving an average pay in the light industry at a level of pay at least in the national socialized industry.
—Full abiding by the decisions taken by the Council of Ministers' economic committee of 21 May 1989
—The creation of conditions for independent calculation of wages by enterprises through abolishing administrative restrictions in this area.

Socio-Economic Statistics for July Published

LD2108204589 Warsaw PAP in English 1855 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 21—The following is an abridged version of a communique by the GUS Chief Statistical Office on the socio-economic situation in July 1989:

Unfavourable phenomena that occurred in the economy in the first half of 1989 deepened in July: Production in the socialized industry dropped, market imbalance deepened considerably, exports fell and the purchase of slaughter animals also dropped considerably.

Prices

The average prices of the sold production of the socialized industry rose by 3.5 per cent in July as compared with June 1989. The level of prices was higher by 77.0 per cent in the period from January to July as compared with the same period last year.

In July, the retail prices of consumer goods and services were higher by 9.5 per cent than in June. The average level of prices was higher by 84.4 per cent in the period of seven months of 1989 as compared with the same increased on the average by 57.9 per cent in the first half of 1989 as compared with the same period in 1988. The swiftest rise in prices concerned building materials (by 92.3 per cent).

The Population's Incomes and Expenditures

In July, according to data of the Narodowy Bank Polski, the population's money incomes amounted to 3,678 billion zloties and expenditures to 3,025 billion zloties. A

considerable advantage of incomes over expenditures in July resulted in the growth of the population's money resources by 653 billion zloties and this was the greatest monthly rise in resources this year. These resources grew by 3,200 billion zloties in the period of seven months of this year.

Wages

The average wage in July this year, without payments from the profit, totalled 116,100 zloties in five branches. This included 128.900 zloties in industry (248,700 zloties in the mining industry, 109,000 zloties in the processing industry), 116,500 zloties in building industry, 95,900 zloties in transport, 77,200 zloties in communications and 91,000 zloties in trade.

Home Market

In the group of foodstuffs, the supplies of many items were insufficient as compared with the increased demand. Besides, the supplies of some items were smaller than in July of last year. For instance, the deliveries of sugar accounted only for 59.7 per cent of the supplies from the same period of last year.

The shortages in the group of non-food goods also increased, particularly as regards consumer durables. For instance, the supplies of radio-tape-recorder sets accounted only for 38.7 per cent of the deliveries of July last year, of tv sets-for 56.7 per cent, fabric-made clothes-for 75.2 per cent, automated washing machines-83.5 per cent, shoes-for 87.1 per cent. On the other hand, there were more radio sets-by 3.4 per cent, hosiery-by 2.5 per cent, fabric-made personal clothing-by 10.4 per cent and of knitwear-by 27.3 per cent.

New Flats [apartments]

4.400 Flats were handed over for use in July 1989, by 5.5 less than in July 1988.

Industry

The sold production in the socialized industry in fixed prices in the comparable working time was lower by 2.4 per cent in July 1989 than in July 1988. The sold production in the real working time was smaller by 5.9 per cent. For the first time, the drop in production in the processing industry (by 6.1 per cent) was greater than in the mining industry (by 3.4 per cent).

In July 1989, the production of the fuel and energy industry was lower by 12.1 per cent, including the hard coal mining fell by 7.6 per cent. The production of the metallurgical industry was lower by 9.8 per cent than in July 1988. The production of pig iron was very low (a 12.6 per cent drop) and of rolled products dropped by 15.6 per cent.

The production of the electro-engineering industry was lower by 4.0 per cent than in July 1988. The production of Chemical industry fell by 9.9 per cent. The output of the timber-paper, light and food industries was also smaller. The manufacture of furniture fell by 12.1 per cent, of paper by 11.4 per cent, of shoes by 15.1 per cent and of meat by 18.8 per cent.

In the first half of 1989, the sold production was higher by 1 per cent as compared with the same period of 1988. But the rise amounted already only to 0.2 per cent in the period of seven months.

Agriculture

According to the first 1989 estimates, the crops of the basic cereals together with mixed fodders will amount to 25.4 million tonnes and will be by about 1.2 million tonnes, that is by 5 per cent, higher than 1988 crops.

The crops of rape amounted to about 1.5 million tonnes and rose by 0.3 million tonnes, that is by 22.8 per cent as compared with the previous year.

It is estimated that the state of potato plantations is similar as in 1988, while that of sugar beets is better.

In July 1989, the purchase of animals for slaughter amounted to 149,500 tonnes and was by 19.2 per cent lower than in July 1988. The purchase of beef on the hoof (including calves) was lower by 26 percent, of pigs by 15.2 per cent and the purchase of poultry was lower by 18.1 per cent.

In July 1989, the purchase of milk amounted to 1,221 million litres and was by 6.8 per cent higher than the purchase in July 1988.

Investments and Building

Investment outlays in the national economy amounted to 4,540 billion zloties in the first half of 1989 and rose by 9.2 per cent as compared with the same period in 1988. They amounted to 3,930 billion zloties in the socialized economy and grew by 10.1 per cent. Investment outlays amounted to about 610 billion zloties in the private sector and were by 3.5 per cent higher than in the first half of 1988.

Foreign Trade

Apart from a downward trend in imports prevailing for one year now, trade with socialist countries was marked also by a drop in exports in July 1989. A higher dynamic of imports occurring since March 1989 prevailed in turnover with dollar zone countries. The rise in hard-currency deals in imports and the drop in exports deepened in turnover with dollar zone countries. The terms of trade in July 1989 were beneficial with socialist and dollar zone countries alike.

The volume of exports and imports fell by 0.3 and 3.1 per cent respectively in turnover with socialist countries in the period from January to July 1989. As regards turnover with dollar zone countries, the small rise in exports (by 1.7 per cent) was accompanied by a high growth of the volume of imports (by 11.3 per cent), including an 8.3 per cent growth in the supply imports (with the supply imports from socialist countries being power than in 1988). Investment imports were still marked by a high dynamic.

Demonstration Held on 1968 CSSR Anniversary

LD2108215889 Warsaw PAP in English
2059 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Biesko-Biala, Krakow, Aug 21—On the 21st anniversary of the intervention of Warsaw Treaty forces in Czechoslovakia a demonstration was staged in Cieszyn, southern Poland, today. It was organized under the motto "Fraternal Assistance Never Again" by activists of the Cieszyn Mother Country Grouping, a Solidarity Citizens Committee and a Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity Group.

The demonstration was attended by Deputies Jozefa Hennelowa, Grazyna Staniszewska, Janusz Okrzesik, Radoslaw Gawlik, Jan Rokita and Jacek Kuron and Senators Krzysztof Kozlowski, Karol Modzelewski and Maciej Krzanowski.

The demonstrators stated that the 1968 intervention violated the inalienable right of every nation to self-determination and a natural drive for democracy, freedom and respect of human rights.

Participants in the demonstration sent cables to Vaclav Havel and Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek in which they condemned the 1968 events and voiced the hope that frontiers would not divide but unite our countries in a community of free and independent nations.

At the end of the demonstration its participants commemorated those fallen in 1968 with a moment of silence.

Also, a rally of solidarity with the nations of Czechs and Slovaks was held at the momument to Adam Mickiewicz in Krakow. It was staged by the Confederation for an Independent Poland, the Fighting Youth Federation and the community named after Ryszard Siwiec and Jan Palach.

At the rally, attended by several hundred people, a statement was read out which condemned the invasion by the Warsaw Treaty forces, including the Polish Army, of a fraternal country. It was said that the intervention violated the sovereignty and national freedom of Czechs and Slovaks.

Participants in the rally demanded from Soviet Authorities to pull out all troops from Central and Eastern Europe and from the Supreme Soviet of the USRR to unequivocally condemn military interventions in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

After the rally the demonstrators took part in a march, Chanting "Down With Communism" "Communists Are Fascists," "Soviets Go Home" and "Krakow—Prague: Common Cause," In front of the Soviet consulate where the statement was read out again.

Kuron Condemns Pact Intervention

LD2108193189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1800 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] A demonstration took place in Cieszyn today, on the anniversary of the Warsaw Pact Armies' intervention in Czechoslovakia. It was organized at the initiative of activists of the Cieszyn Motherland, the Solidarity Civic Committee, and the Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity Group. The following Sejm deputies participated in the demonstration: Jozefa Hennelowa, Graszyna Staniszewska, Janusz Okrzesik, Radoslaw Gawlik, Jan Rokita, and Jacek Kuron, as well as Senators Krzysztof Kozlowski, Karol Modzelewski, and Maciej Krzanowski.

Jerzy Kronholz, from the Cieszyn Motherland, stated that the intervention was a violation of the inalienable right of every nation to self-determination and of the natural striving toward democracy and freedom, as well as of respect for human rights.

Deputy Jacek Kuron spoke, condemning the armed intervention in Czechoslovakia and stating that Poland's participation in those events is all the more painful since it took place without the consent of Polish society.

USSR's Gremitskikh Cited on Government Formation

LD2108201889 Warsaw PAP in English
1938 GMT 21 Aug 89

[By PAP Correspondent Jerzy Malczyk]

[Text] Moscow, Aug 21—As we have stressed many times, the formation of a Polish Government is an internal affair of Poles. At the same time, we do not take an indifferent stance on this. After all, Poland is our neighbour and ally. Our countries and nations fought together against Nazism and have long been maintaining close relations. The Soviet Union and Poland develop broad cooperation in many fields and actively cooperate on the international arena, spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry Yuriy Gremitskikh said at a press conference at his ministry's press centre today.

We follow Polish developments with attention and hope that that country's political forces will constructively act to find solutions enabling them to get the country out of the crisis and outline ways of overcoming the present difficulties, he added.

Daily Demands 'Stalinist Crimes' Be Re-Examined

LD2108162289 Warsaw PAP in English
1404 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 21—In a commentary headlined "Shadows, Spectres, and Ghosts", the DZIENNIK LUDOWY" (United Peasant Party [ZSL] organ) daily writes in part:

"The partition of Poland which was programmed on August 23, 1939 was intended to erase several states from the map of Europe. The Polish Republic was the first one to go. Nonetheless, irrespective of the political effects of the lost September campaign, there were other consequences of the pact between Hitler and Stalin. I am first and foremost referring to the unprecedented extermination of the Polish nation by Nazi Germany on the one hand, and the Stalin-Beria apparatus of terror and lawlessness on the other.

"Historically, formally and legally genocide has been proven as regards the Third Reich only. This happened because the second criminal appeared in the character of a judge at the Nuremberg trial. Hence, only the Nazi machine of death was condemned before the world.

"Of course, one can and should deem as right the work of every commission for commemorating the victims of Stalinist repression. But it seems that the time is right to have the powers of the main commission for investigating Nazi crimes expanded under law by the Sejm or to set up an analogous institution to examine Stalinist crimes against the Polish nation and state in detail. Despite the significant progress in the process of democratization in the USSR, the severe condemnation and even sentencing of representatives of the terror apparatus, the methods used by Stalin in relations with the Polish nation have never been condemned through court proceedings and in the context of genocide.

"Let us put it straightforwardly: Judgement in political catgegories is doubtful satisfaction for the families of the victims. For the whole generation living under the sign of shadows, spectres and ghosts. They will haunt us for as long as blank spots are the colour of red."

POLITYKA Publishes Document on Katyn Crime

LD2108202389 Warsaw PAP in English
1938 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 21—The "POLITYKA" weekly published a document on the Katyn crime conveyed by Polish historians to their Soviet counterparts. The document is an expertise of the official communique issued by the Soviet special commission to determine responsibility for the Katyn crime published on January 24, 1944 (known as the Burdenko Commission). The expertise also takes account of the Nuremberg tribunal's hearings of witnesses, journalists' reports on the public hearing of witnesses by the Nuremberg tribunal, journalists' reports on the public hearing of witnesses by the special committee. "PRAWDA O KATYNIU" (TRUTH ABOUT KATYN), Moscow, 1944) as well as a report by the Red Cross representatives.

The expertise represents a stand by the Polish side of the Commission of Party Historians of Poland and the USSR for Relations Between Both States. Chairman of the commission Professor Jarema Marciszewski stated in "POLITYKA" that in the light of the arguments contained in the expertise, there is no doubt about the Burdenko commission's opinions departing from the truth or about full responsibility of the NKVD [USSR People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs] for the Katyn crime and the death of the prisoners of the Starobelsk and Ostahskov camps though the place of the prisoners' extermination and eternal rest cannot so far be unquestionably determined without an analysis of Soviet documents.

The Polish officers interned by the Soviet authorities after September 1939 were at first placed in camps situated near the former Polish-Soviet border. Next, in November 1939, some 4.5 thousand were transported to Kozelsk and 4 thousand to Starobelsk, to so-called "special officers' camps."

The third camp, in Ostashkov—more precisely: on an island on the Salinger Lake—was established as the last one in early 1940. It had some 6.5 thousand inmates, including 300 police officers, officers and warrant officers of the border guard corps, prison guards, etc.

The finding of 4,151 victims in the Katyn graves should be considered as proved. The total number of the remains found (some 4,300) approximately corresponds to the number of Polish officers taken from Kozelsk in April and May of 1940.

Senate Condemns Desecration of Soviet Graves

LD2108162389 Warsaw PAP in English
1408 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 21—On behalf of the Polish Senate we express our sorrow and, at the same time, indignation, caused by the profanation of Soviet soldiers' graves, says a statement issued by the Senate Presidium today.

Polish people have taken good care of these graves for over 40 years. Nevertheless, during the moments of political tension (in 1981 and today) such cases take place being evidently engineered as political provocation. By condemning this type of acts as contradictory to the tradition of respect to the memory of the dead we express our conviction that both, the respective state organs and society will do all to prevent similar events in future.

SCINTEIA Expresses 'Concern' Over Poland

AU2008153389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1453 GMT 20 Aug 89

["SCINTEIA on the Situation in Poland"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 20/8/1989—In its section "We Answer Our Readers" the newspaper SCINTEIA of 20 August 1989 runs an article titled "On the Situation in Poland" which reads:

Several activists of the party, of mass and public organizations, veterans of the underground period asked the press and the radiotelevision about the situation created in Poland after the president of that country had accepted the resignation of the premier designate, representative of the Polish United Workers' Party, and entrusted a person from the leadership of the "Solidarity" trade union, known for his antisocialist positions, connected with imperialist, reactionary circles, with the formation of the government.

In connection with this, the editor's desk of the newspaper SCINTEIA wants to point out that such a measure runs counter to the Polish people's interests, the interests of socialism in general, jeopardizes the revolutionary gains of the 45 years elapsed since the liberation from the Hitlerite occupation, Poland's independence and sovereignty.

With good reason, public opinion in Romania shows its concern over such an evolution which is obviously aimed at taking the political power away from the workers' hands, giving up the basic principles of socialism, the revolutionary gains of the working class, of the Polish people.

The created situation places in jeopardy the interests of socialism, of the Warsaw Treaty included, serving the interests of the NATO and of the most reactionary forces.

That is why, in the spirit of the friendship and solidarity between our peoples, the Romanian people who 50 years ago sided with the Polish people, victim of the Nazi aggression believes that everything possible should be done for a government to be formed by the Polish United Workers' Party, where the revolutionary forces of the Polish society be represented, a government which should secure the continuity of the socialist revolution and construction in Poland, really promote the Polish people's basic interests, ensure the collaboration with the socialist countries, with all the democratic, progressive forces, in the interests of security and peace in Europe and the world over.

The Romanian people is fully confident that the friendly Polish people, the Polish United Workers' Party will be able to overcome the difficulties emerged of late and will work firmly for the triumph of the ideas of socialism, for the progress and prosperity of socialist Poland, SCINTEIA winds up.

Police Reportedly Beat Ethnic Hungarian To Death

AU2208075689 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 21 Aug 89 p 11

[Text] Vienna/Budapest—In Romania, simple, harmless people are being beaten to death by the police with increasing frequency. Generally, the perpetrators do not have to answer to the courts. The Budapest magazine ERDELYI TUDOSITASOK (Reports from Transylvania) has just reported a case in Balanbanya (Balan), a town with a strong ethnic Hungarian minority.

"On 25 May 1989, Cristian Pardas, head of the police station, drank all morning with subordinates and the head of the cafeteria. Around noon they went to the apartment of Hungarian private carter Janos Tamas, ... in order to make a search."

The suspicion: Since Tamas's eldest child was about to receive first communion, they assumed that the father had acquired veal for this occasion. (The slaughter of calves is strictly prohibited by Romanian law.)

The magazine continues: "In the apartment there were only an 8-month-old child and a 7-year-old child. The policemen turned the place upside down but did not find any meat." When the couple came home, Tamas was taken to the police station.

"It was 1910 hours. At 1930 Janos Tamas was dead. The doctor noted that his liver was ruptured, his spine and his leg were broken. One hand was completely dismembered, because the man had been tied to the wall before being beaten." In a first action, a policeman asked at the doctor's office whether Tamas had ever been ill, but there was not even a file on him: Tamas had never been ill before.

According to Romanian law, the district prosecutor would have to start official proceedings and seek damages for the orphans. However, the file has been closed for lack of a plaintiff. Pardas is still in office, only one of his subordinates has been fired, the magazine reports.

Yugoslav Paper DANAS Interviews Ceausescu

AU2108131289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1044 GMT 21 Aug 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Interview With the Yugoslav Periodical "DANAS"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] An interview was published in Bucharest that Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary and president of Romania, granted to Miroslav Lazanski, special envoy of the "DANAS" weekly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, on 17 August.

In answer to the Yugoslav journalists' questions, the RCP and Romanian state leader spoke at length about Romania's socioeconomic achievements in socialist construction in forty-five years since the victory of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation in August 1944, as well as about the future development prospects of the country, of its passage to the communist society. President Nicolae Ceausescu also reiterated Romania's position on world disarmament and the proposals for its achievement.

Furthermore, President Nicolae Ceausescu took up a number of issues among which:

—Romania's Repayment of the Foreign Debt:

In 1990 Romania's debt topped 11 billion dollars. However, if we reckon the debt and the interest we paid from 1975 until March this year, we can say that we paid more than 24 billion dollars, of which nearly 17 billion was paid since 1980. That was the price we paid for the debt we once contracted.

In 1990 we decided to repay the debt in full, because we considered that the foreign debt was an obstacle to socioeconomic development and to the building of the socialist society.

At one time, in 1982, we too accepted to do what the international monetary fund asked us to, namely to meet a number of conditions which it sets to all the countries that apply for a loan to this day: to devalue the national currency, to renounce investment, to cut social spending and other such well known burdens. We agreed to that in the beginning, but barely a few months had passed and we realized that to take that road would have been tantamount to disorganizing the national economy. We unilaterally canceled the agreement with the international monetary fund and worked out a programme of our own which provided, firstly, for the maintenance of the development rate of the national economy and the further allocation of at least 30 percent of the national income to development, and secondly, for the maintenance of the living standard and of the population's income level, making sure that in each five-year period they increase accordingly. We also considered that the level of domestic interests was very high, that it slowed down, not stimulated, development. Consequently, we reduced some of those interests several times and generally set their level below five percent, down to three-two percent in some areas. For agriculture, in particular, we adopted a financing system that rules out interest. Furthermore, we considered that all prices, in general and consumer prices, in particular, should be kept under control.

It was on that basis that, along with the repayment of the debt, we invested more than 2,000 billion lei, which is the equivalent of some 200-220 billion dollars at the noncommercial rate.

We raised remunerations and pensions twice during that period, with the second raise having just been completed on 1 August.

For nearly six years consumer goods prices have not increased, and there are industries where costs have even dropped.

Therefore, since you asked the price we paid, that price was the development of the national economy, the rise in the general living standard.

Had we not done that, we could not have paid the debt. If we take a look at various countries that did not pay attention to their socioeconomic development, we can easily see that they lack the necessary material base to pay back their debts.

In consideration of our own experience, as well as of what we saw happening around the world, we decided no longer to resort to any kind of credits. We enacted a special law in that respect. We think we do have sufficient means for the country's socioeconomic development in line with our future plans.

In fact, a simple calculation shows that it is an illusion to think loans can help the growth of the economy. Of course, a rational financial system, with reasonable interests, is something necessary and may play a part in economic growth, but in the present circumstances when credits are one way of exporting the national income which only benefits monopolies and the world financial system, we think it is definitely unprofitable to resort to them.

As far as Romania is concerned, it granted certain credits itself. We have today over 2.5 billion dollars in balance-of-payment surplus and we are ready to cooperate with other countries in future, which includes the granting of certain credits for socioeconomic development, on a reasonable and justified basis.

As concerns your question on retaining sovereignty and independence, it is known what all developing countries say today. The obligations of these countries to certain developed capitalist states, to the international monetary fund and the world banks as well as to other international banks are known. It is no secret to anybody that not only credit granting but also a rescheduling of the foreign debt is made conditional upon measures that disorganize various national economies, especially privatization, the demand to liquidate state ownership or social ownership in various fields.

Obviously, this is an inadmissible interference in the domestic affairs of countries, which become one way or the other, dependent countries, a gross violation of their sovereignty, which is definitely against the principles of

Charter of the United Nations, against setting interstate relations on the principles of equal rights and mutual advantage, respect for independence and noninterference in domestic affairs.

—Romania's Participation in International Technological Cooperation:

Romania is committed to a strong scientific activity, to the modernisation of all the areas. We have joint ventures with other socialist countries, Yugoslavia included, and together we can solve many problems of high technology, without having to apply to others.

Of course, we are for a broad cooperation with other states, but we want this cooperation to be set on the principles of equality and collaboration, including in the development of new technologies.

—The Role of the Communist Party in the Socialist Society:

The RCP has today 3.8 million members of whom more than 55 percent are workers, some 18 percent peasants, over 20 percent intellectuals in various domains of activity, the remainder belonging to other various social categories.

Our party, since the creation of the first workers' party of Romania in 1893, and then of the Romanian Communist Party in 1921, has developed as a party of the working class. The party has always had intellectuals and peasants among its members, but it was and will be the party of the working class. In accordance with the requirements formulated by the classics of scientific socialism, the party must remain a party of the working class. The intellectuals admitted to the party, or who are party members, must identify themselves with the interests of the working class the most advanced social class. Both in socialism and in communism, and, undoubtedly, in the distant future as well, the working class will continue to be the most powerful class. Certainly, with different requirements and features, but it has the historic mission and will have it in future too to play the leading role in society.

Therefore, the role and prestige the Communist Party enjoys today are not accidental, are not a slogan, but are the outcome of its activity, since its creation to the day, of its staunch position of fully identifying itself with the interests of the working class, of the entire nation, of ensuring the country's development and socialist construction. Everything we have achieved is the result of the party policy, of the unity of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, of the whole people round the party. As a matter of fact, we have formulated the thesis of building socialism with the people for the people.

—Concerns for the Modernization of Society in Socialist Countries:

Starting with the Ninth Party Congress of 1965 we considered that we should put an end to set patterns, to conservatism, dogmatism, to the so-called single model of socialist construction. Starting from the principle that socialism must be built differently from one country to another, from one stage to another but in harmony with the realities in each country, that objective laws, the principles of scientific socialism must be understood and applied in concordance with every country's realities, we have restored to the party and the people the feeling of dignity and independence, we have passed to deep-going changes and the modernization in the organization of society, in the management of all sectors of activity. We have introduced the principles of self-management, self-administration, self-financing, we have adopted, under law, the provision according to which workers or the staff of an enterprise are collective owners of fixed assets the administration of which is entrusted to them, and they are responsible for their proper management and development.

We have modernized the forms of socialist property. We have long ago renounced the thesis of differences between various forms of socialist property considering that the property of the whole people known in general as the state socialist property and the cooperative property fully meets socialist principles and in this respect no one is superior to the other.

We renounced 20 years ago the one-person management in enterprises. We have introduced the principle of collective management and responsibility setting up the working people's councils, of which at least 30 percent must be workers. We have institutionalized by law the genral meetings of owners and producers as the supreme management bodies of enterprises and we have continuingly improved them.

It is obvious that we have always given pride of place and I repeat it to science, modern technology, quality, economic eficiency, profitability, and we continue to work along this line.

We are of the opinion that the questions related to technological and management modernization and improvement are problems of a permanent character. They cannot be solved once and for all or every 20-30 years. They are, if I may say so, problems of the every day activity and one must permanently have in view the latest gains of science and technology, which must show also in economic management, in the democratization process. Meaning, however, the people's participation in the management of society.

That is how we worked, that is how we work at present and how we intent to work in future.

As for the measures adopted in various countries we think setting from the principle I have mentioned regarding the right of every party and people to independently establish its political line and development that

every party, every people must seek the best ways of improvement, to meet the situation in the respective countries taking into consideration their development stage.

But I must tell you openly that starting from this, we are concerned over the fact that in some countries the improvement activity implies renunciation of socialist achievements, both in the organization and management of the economy and as far as various social advances ar concerned which are specific to socialism and linked to the very essence of the socialist society. Therefore, we are of the opinion that the systems of managing and running economic activities must be improved, but society must go forward, not backward. Or a return to the capitalist forms of property or management of the economy means neither improvement nor advancement.

The forms of economic managment can differ, some can be even identical. It is not the form of management but the form of property that is essential. As is well known, Marx said, as early as in 1848, that one of the basic questions is the transformation of private property into common property of the means of production, with everything that such a revolutionary activity entails.

Undoubtedly, the capitalist economy had very good achievements, and it still has, but it basically remains capitalist, bearing the tares that call for its liquidation.

Socialist economy, socalist industry have outstanding achievements. We are of the opinion that socialism has very important achievements although there is bad performance as well.

But improvement as far as socialism is concerned cannot mean a return to capitalism, but the removal of shortcomings and the consolidation of the property of the whole people, the ensurance of progress. Socialism means the firm application of the principles of collective property of productive means, means the banning of man's exploitation by man, an equitable distribution of products and incomes among the members of society. Therefore, speaking of socialism, we firmly believe that the current problems will be overcome and socialism will assert itself even more vigorously and will progress.

—Modernization of Rural Settlements in Romania:

In 1968, we achieved a new territorial-administrative reorganization of the country. We abolished regions and districts and re-established the counties, which were traditional. We established an administrative system based on counties, towns and communes. What we did in 1968 was to enhance the role of towns and communes of the basis of the principle of territorial-administrative self-management. Over these twenty years we have created 82 new towns. The old towns have also developed powerfully, the urban population accounting at present for almost 60 percent of the country's total population. Generally, we intended to provide conditions so that people stay in their native settlements, communes included. We have in view [to] enlarge the existing material base, to do so as the young people may learn 12 years in their native or neighbour settlements, to completely solve the question of health care, develop cultural establishments, which are traditional in Romania. We must add to all this the development of agriculture, of the small industry, commercial activities a.o. We therefore set [out] from the goal that the residents of communes should have everything they need for their everyday life. We want people in communes to have there everything that can be found in towns.

We have built in communes houses for workers and experts and will further do so. We have elaborated a territorial development programme so that people can built within a set perimetre, and an end be put to past anarchy. We also concern ourselves with the road and electricity networks, with all the other public sytems that must be organized on unitary and modern bases.

What would we like? We would like to do so as living conditions in villages be closer to those in towns. This is our goal as far as the modernization of communes is concerned. Without this one cannot speak of a rise in Romania's standard of living, and we do not want to have developed towns and backward villages. We known that this will take a long time but what we have achieved so far entitles us to believe that this goal will be attained in good conditions.

—The Relations Between Romania and Hungary:

Romania and Hungary have developed over the years relations of collaboration as socialist countries.

As for ourselves, we have no issue with Hungary. We were and are for the development of the relations of good neighbourliness, of collaboration in socialist construction, in every domain.

True, some claims were advanced regarding the responsibility for the life of Romanian citizens of Magyar nationality but the understanding was equally stated of the fact that that was a question of socialist Romania. As a matter of fact, it goes without saying that the life of citizens of different nationality who are Romanian citizens though is connected with what happens in Romania, with Romania's development. It is not outside but here, in Romania, that the raising of their living standard is ensured. Not only are these principles provided for in the constitution, which we consider to be one of the best, since it guarantees full equality of all citizens, but we have also secured in actual fact the full equality of rights and there is no discrimination, in any domain for reasons of nationality or race, the way it happens in other countries, or for reasons of age, a.s.o. [as received]

But, of course, all inhabitants of our homeland have the same duties, as citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania. As a matter of fact, the international law is so clear in this respect as we do not even have to stress this truth.

We generally wish to develop good collaboration with our neighbours, relying upon principles of equality and mutual regard, to assist each other in the settlement of issues emerging in one country or another, without claims of interference in internal affairs. As good neighbours, we have to collaborate and assist each other, in the interests of our peoples, of their present and future.

—Romania's Military Doctrine:

Romania and the Romanian Armed Forces articulated long ago their military doctrine, relying upon self-defence, upon rejecting any foreign aggression, starting from the principle that the country's defence was a duty of our whole people. So, our whole doctrine is a doctrine of defence of Romania's independence and sovereignty, of the socialist revolutionary gains.

As a matter of fact, we have always spoken up against any doctrine pursuing aggressive purposes. That is why we have organized our Armed Forces in the spirit of the defence doctrine, starting from the belief that the country's force and capacity of defence has to rely first of all upon the development of the national economy, upon raising the people's living standard. We know that it is only in these conditions that the doctrine of defending national independence and sovereignty, socialism, can be viable and, considering the above-mentioned development prospects of the country we will firmly stick to these principles.

—The Human Rights Issue:

Romania played an active role in the organization of the Helsinki Conference on Security, Disarmament and Collaboration in Europe. Even at that time there was much talk on fundamental issues related to human rights.

Meanwhile, some reactionary circles, disregarding the really fundamental rights, try to interfere in the affairs of various countries, including Romania. Especially, there is much talk about emigration. We have always settled the issues in a humanitarian spirit, including the rights to family reunion, but we were and are against stimulating and sustaining the policy of emigration. We think this is a question running counter to the real human rights, serving the interests of the imperialist quarters, of monopolies, helping them to allure experts and various men of science.

But we have most firmly approached the question of ensuring the rights to work, especially for the young people, settling the most serious issue unemployment. We are for conditions of education to be provided for all young people and demand the elimination of sex and racial discriminations such as is the case of the black in the US but also in other countries when it is about to ensure equal pay for equal work. We have insisted for the settlement of the housing issue which, it too, is very grave in many developed countries. It is known that poverty has mounted in those countries concomitant with the crime and the scorge of drug addiction that has turned into a national issue in many capitalist countries and that together with the drop in the social expenditures really tells upon the right to free and dignified existence of tens upon tens of millions people.

These are in fact the fundamental issues of human rights. To try and invent other ones means to try and divert the attention of their own peoples from the grave economic and social realities that ask for solution.

—The Stage and Perspective of Romanian-Yugoslav Relations:

The relations between Romania and Yugoslavia have recorded fine development over the years. For a long time, an important role was played by the meetings, accords and understandings reached together with President Josip Broz Tito.

All in all, we consider that the relations between our countries have currently a fine level, yet they are not up to the two countries' possibilities. There are great possibilities to expand in a short while the Romanian-Yugoslav economic relations, starting with the cooperation in production, with the economic exchanges, with the cooperation in science, technology, culture and other domains.

As a matter of fact, even in the more remote past, including the period between the two world wars, the relations between Romania and Yugoslavia always were relations of good neighbourliness, based both on earlier traditions and on the new traditions of the years of socialist construction. We think there are fine prospects for the expansion and development of the relations between our parties and peoples, on the path to socialist construction, to strengthening every people's independence and welfare and, naturally, in many international issues, where our stands are identical or very close.

The continuation of the traditional annual meetings at a head of state level and we are for their continuation makes us confident that the Romanian-Yugoslav friendship will develop successfully in future as well, in the interests and to the benefit of our countries and peoples, of the cause of peace, progress and collaboration among all nations of the world.

Ceausescus Attend Meeting Marking National Day
AU2108193889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1942 GMT 21 Aug 89

["Solemn Meeting Marking Romania's National Day"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 21/8/1989—In the presence of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist

Republic of Romania, of Mrs Elena Ceausescu, a solemn meeting arranged by the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], the Grand National Assembly and the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front was held in Bucharest, on 21 August, to mark the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu took their seats in the presidium of the meeting held in the hall of the Palace of the Republic.

Taking their seats were also members and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the party's CC, deputies of the Grand National Assembly, members of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, ministers, party members since the underground period, participants in the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation, generals and reserve generals, executives of central institutions, front-ranking workers of Bucharest enterprises.

Attending the solemn meeting marking 23 August were members of the CC of the RCP, of the State Council and of the government, party members since the underground period, participants, in the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of the social and national liberation of August 1944, veterans of the anti-Hitlerite war, generals and high-ranking officers, executives of central institutions, of mass and public organizations, party and state activists, scientists, men of letters, numerous working people from big economic units of the capital.

In the attendance were heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Bucharest, military attaches, other members of the diplomatic corps, guests foreign visiting Romania and foreign press correspondents.

The state anthem of the Socialist Republic of Romania was played. Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, vice-president of the State Council, opened the solemn meeting.

President Nicolae Ceausescu addressed the meeting. The speech, broadcast live by the Romanian radio and television posts, was followed with keen interest, profound satisfaction and full approval.

After the solemn meeting, a festive show in observance of the 45th anniversary of 23 August was given at the Hall of the Palace of the Republic.

RCP's Bobu Article Comments on National Day

AU2008190089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1705 GMT 20 Aug 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Conception on the Revolution of Social and National Liberation, Continuity of the Revolutionary Process of Building the Socialist and Communist Society in Romania'—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 20/8/1989—SCINTEIA of 20 August runs an article by Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], on President Nicolae Ceausescu's conception on the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation, the continuity of the process of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism. This conception the author points out brings out in bold relief the theses and ideas on the objective and subjective factors of the revolution, the determining role of the internal social forces, the importance of a correct assessment of the socio-economic development stages.

President Nicolae Ceausescu, the article shows, evinces the RCP's role of most active national force in the creation of the United Worker Front, in rallying the democratic forces against war, in the organization and implementation of the 23 August 1944 act.

The RCP general secretary points out that this act marked in Romania the end of the foreign imperialist domination once and for all, opened the path to the implementation of big revolutionary changes and the passage to socialism. The victory of the revolution led to the country's joining the anti-Hitlerite coalition with its entire economic and military potential; the Romanian Army heroically fought to chase away the Hitlerite-Horthyst troops and completely liberate the homeland, then made an important contribution to the liberation of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Austria, till the final victory over Nazi Germany.

In the RCP general secretary's work, the fact is underlined that the United Worker Front, which had been the backbone of the democratic and patriotic forces, united in the historic act of liquidating fascism, continued to represent, after 23 August 1944, the major political force which continually boosted the revolutionary process. This unity provided for the full restoration of the political, ideologic and organizational unity, through the creation, in February 1948, of the unique party of the working class of Romania, based on the conception of scientific socialism. The elimination of scision and the achievement of the politico-organizational unity of the working class, the creation of the unique party, President Nicolae Ceausescu stresses, is an objective necessity for the ensurance of the victory of the socialist revolution and the building of the new society, the article shows.

The article also points out that the revolutionary changes between 1948 and 1965 in all the fields of the socio-economic life provided for the development upon socialist bases of the industry, agriculture, of all sectors of activity, while many of the difficulties inherent in such a vast work were overcome.

Likewise, mistakes were made and socialist laws were infringed, alien conceptions manifested themselves underrating the Romanian people's force and capacity. In the unique revolutionary process of building the socialist society, the Ninth RCP Congress (1965) opened a new stage, of qualitative changes in all fields of the

social life. Under the impulse of President Nicolae Ceausescu's innovative scientific thinking, the RCP approached in a creative spirit, free of dogmas and cliches, of the mistaken conception of "unique model," the basic problems of the socialist construction, of the development of the revolutionary worker democracy.

Through his socio-political thinking, his entire revolutionary work, President Nicolae Ceausescu made and makes a great contribution to the enrichment, by the RCP, of the theoretic treasure of the scientific socialism, with the experience of socialist revolution and construction in Romania, appreciated for the original and realistic solutions to the development and modernization of the economy, the efficiency of the entire activity, the improvement of the democratic framework of the whole people's active participation in the management of the socio-economic life, the formation of the masses' revolutionary conscience.

After describing Romania's achievements in the socialist years and future development prospects, the article shows that in the RCP and its general secretary's conception, these achievements prove tellingly that socialism alone provides conditions for the liquidation of backwardness, of poverty, for true economic and social independence, for the whole people's welfare.

The socialist construction in Romania, the Romanian people's achievements in the past twenty five years confirm the correctness of the application of scientific socialism and the unprejudiced approach to the problems of social changes, which requires a vast activity starting from the general objective laws, working in a creatively, to always find concrete answers to life demands. Recalling the RCP positions, the article shows: One cannot speak of the improvement of socialist construction by giving up some of the basic principles of the new system, the primordial significance of the socialist property, state and cooperative, the achievement of the aspirations at social equality and equity, the revolutionary role of the working class, the leading role of the Communist Party, of permanent promoter of societal improvement.

These principles the article emphasizes are the revolutionary essence of continual renewing changes in society, the content of the unique process of building socialism.

In the light of the experience gained by Romania in the socialist construction, one can say that one of the basic principles of scientific socialism, the validity of which has been proved historically, is that of the leadership of the party in this process, major prerequisite and decisive factor of the success in the building of the new society, the article reads, evincing the emphasis placed by the RCP and Romanian state leader on the imperative of the stronger assertion of the party role as leading political force, of vital centre of the nation in the future.

Ceausescu Chairs PEC Meeting on 14th Congress

AU1808201389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2019 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 18/8/1989—Gathered on Friday, 18 August, under the chairmanship of the Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, the Executive Political Committee [PEC] of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] debated questions related to the preparation of the Fourteenth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party.

The stage of these preparations being surveyed it was stressed that over this period the commissions set up to this end carried out an intense activity for the finalization of all the activities concerning the organization and unfolding of the great party forum of November. With the conclusions drawn by the commissions as a basis, the party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu proposed several amendments as concerns the number and composition of the members that are to be elected to the party leading bodies. It was proposed that the number of the members of the Central Committee that will be elected at the Fourteenth Congress increase from 455, as set at the plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP of 27-28 June, to 465.

Likewise, to the end of increasing the presence in the Central Committee of activists from among workers carrying on activity directly in production it was decided that their number raise to 45, and that of the peasants working directly in agriculture to 20. In consideration of the fact that adding to them are party and state activists most of whom also come from among workers and peasants the worker character of the party will be enhanced even more powerfully.

Pointing to the importance of that measure, Nicolae Ceausescu showed that the RCP was and should always remain a party of the working class, a revolutionary party which should identify itself—as so far—with the fundamental interests of the workers, peasants, of all the working people, unswervingly serve the cause of socialism and communism, of the whole nation's progress and blossoming. Next, the Executive Political Committee analysed the report on the fulfilment in the second quarter of 1989 of the major technical and economic indicators approved for the industrial units put on stream, setting the necessary measures to make up for the arrears manifest in this domain.

The Executive Political Committee also analysed a report on the activity carried through in the first semester of 1989 to solve the working people's proposals, intimations, complaints and applications sent to the party leadership.

The Executive Political Committee also discussed problems related to the international activity of the RCP and of the Romanian state.

In that framework, the Executive Political Committee approved the proposals for the Socialist Republic of Romania's participation in the ninth conference of the heads of state of or government of non-aligned countries, due in Belgrade over September 4-7.

The Executive Political Committee assigned a mandate to the Romanian delegation who are to set forth Romania's stance and the actions and initiatives of the party general secretary and president of the Republic, Nicolae Ceausescu, for a growing role and contribution of the Non-aligned Movement in the current stage of the international life and in future.

The Executive Political Committee also approved of the proposal for Romania's participation in the 44th session of the United Nations General Assembly.

It was agreed that, on the basis of their mandate, the Romanian delegation should work for the adoption by the UN of efficient measures for the firm promotion in international relations of the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, non-recourse to the use and threat of force, mutual advantage, for the creation of the necessary conditions for each people's free and independent development.

The Executive Political Committee requested the Romanian delegation to reiterate, from the UN rostrum, Romania's determination to make its full contribution to enhancing the role of the UN in the international life, as a broad, democratic framework for cooperation among all nations to solve the complex issues facing mankind, to establish a world climate of detente, security, confidence and productive collaboration, to fulfil all peoples' aspirations after peace, freedom, independence and progress.

Ceausescu, Elena Visit Artistic Exhibition

AU2108171689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1606 GMT 21 Aug 89

["All-Country Exhibition of Technico-Scientific and Literary Artistic Creation Opens"—AGERPRES]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 21/8/1989—Monday, 21 August, Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, president of Romania, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu, attended the opening of the "All-Country Exhibition of Technico-Scientific and Literary-Artistic Creation, of Folk and Fine Arts" arranged in Bucharest to mark the closing of the seventh "Song to Romania" national festival and devoted to the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation.

The festivity was attended by members and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, secretaries of the party's CC, members of the CC of the RCP, of the State Council and of the government, executives of central institutions, mass and public organizations, representatives of the scientific and cultural life.

The exhibition, which gives a relevant and brilliant image of today's Romania, outlines the achievements in the socialist construction, under the party leadership, mostly after the Ninth RCP Congress (1965), which was the dawn of the most productive era in Romania's multimillenary history.

Emphasis is placed on the scope of the "Song to Romania" national festival which has turned into the most complex and comprehensive framework for the Romanian people's work and creativity. The exhibition shows the festival to be an opportunity for an increasing number of working people to involve themselves in the sphere of science and technics, of culture and arts. While the first edition was attended by over 100,000 amateur ensembles and artistic circles from towns and villages, counting two million members, at the seventh edition their number topped 230,000 artistic ensembles, with 5.1 creative and performing artists. The festival is thus an eloquent expression of the democratization of the Romanian science and culture, an integral part of the Romanian revolutionary worker democracy.

Scientific and technical creation occupies a central place in the exhibition, as about three million people working in enterprises, farm, research and design units, as well as schoolchildren and students have taken part in the current edition and completed about 300,000 research themes. 12,926 inventions were licensed and applied.

Distinct sections of the exhibition illustrate the development and great assertion of arts and literature, which boast new and valuable works, inspired from the people's life and work, present-day facts, and feature the continual development and renewal of the folk art, the care shown for the preservation and development of the folk treasure.

The book show of the exhibition proudly displays President Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretic work and Academician Elena Ceausescu's scientific works put out at home and abroad. Numerous volumes of a wide thematic variety are exhibited showing the intense activity of Romanian publishing houses.

The exhibition also features the activity of the press and the radio and television.

At the end of the visit, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu congratulated the organizers, the participants in the exhibition, in the current edition of the "Song to Romania" national festival.

Leaders Comment on Upcoming Nonaligned Summit

Loncar on Summit

LD1808085389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0616 GMT 17 Aug 89

[all quotation marks as received]

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Aug (TANJUG)—"Despite all changes for the better, the Nonaligned Movement is still necessary," Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs said in a TANJUG interview. He added that today the Nonaligned Movement is at a vital watershed, which is to say that it will either take the course of essential reforms or risk finding itself at the margins of the world today.

Responding to a question on the preparations for the ninth Nonaligned summit, Loncar said:

"Political preparations are going very well and are already near completion. We as the host have drawn out the basic draft documents. Our aim was to make them concise, rational, and to the point. This, I can venture to say, was widely supported among the nonaligned countries. During the preliminary consultations on the content and form of the documents, we made efforts to seek the opinions of as many nonaligned countries as possible. Afterwards, I personally conducted about 50 meetings regarding concrete summit documents. So far, our entire diplomatic activity has encompassed over 80 nonaligned countries. In a word, within physical and time limits, we did the maximum possible to include everyone in the preparations for the ninth summit.

After gathering opinions and remarks regarding the content and emphases, we are currently developing a revised version of the documents, which in accordance with the adopted conception, will include these views as far as possible. It will be presented at the ministerial meeting, which should once more approve the conception, consider and recommend a declaration of the head of states or governments, and send action documents for discussion to the political, that is economic committee, which will be formed at the meeting.

Organizational preparations are nearly completed. I believe that everything needed for the smooth functioning of the conference, the monitoring of its work by reporters, and the presentation of Belgrade and Yugoslavia as good and attentive hosts is secured."

The "cold war" has melted, and detente between the major powers and blocs has reached a point where the military alliances have almost announced their abolition. Where does this leave the nonaligned, what does it all mean for them? Does this help or, perhaps, harm their position?

"There is a well-known aphorism, Loncar replies, that an optimist is in fact a poorly informed pessimist. Although I believe that I am well informed, I am an optimist, but not to the extent that I believe in the abolition of the military and political alliances in the foreseeable future. It is true that relations are being relaxed, that both sides manifest tendencies in favor of dialogue and cooperation instead of confrontation. However, this still is not an irreversible process. Some inertia and many characteristics of past times are still present. Here is the latest example of a resurrected tension from the very symbol of divided Europe—the Berlin Wall.

True, there are, I would say, almost revolutionary novelties. How else can we understand very similar statements from leaders of the great powers that the freedom to decide for oneself is a universal principle, and, at the same time, the fact that they propagate deideologization of international relations as the imperative of a new phase. Or, for instance, breakthroughs in Europe regarding human rights and understanding democratization as a process consisting of two components—internal and external—a process that can be developed and improved only if both components are developed. So, Europe started to develop the ability to realize its own differences in a more objective light, it started to learn that we do not have to agree about everything, but we must live together—cohabitate, as the French elegantly did a couple of years ago.

I used the term cohabitation just as an illustration because it also designates economic togetherness, although it is primarily understood as political cohabitation. Clearly, from an overall point of view, such ideas are still far both from Europe and the world.

And where is the place for the nonaligned here? With a view to your statement that "the cold war" has melted—and certainly it has in its past form—then it can be said that the nonaligned are in a better position. I want to say that it is easier to act in the atmosphere which is not drowned out by the noises of those who cannot hear each other and the whole world. But on the other hand, they are in a more difficult position, because—to tell the truth—it is much more difficult to justify one's own insufficient presence within the context of such an atmosphere."

Some observers in the world voice their view these days that the world has changed so much, of course, for the better, so that the Nonaligned Movement is superfluous. Is this an exaggeration, we asked Loncar?

"If only it were true, the federal secretary replies. Would anyone repudiate living in a world free from all problems and dangers, a world which prospers and is made to suit everyone? In such a world—and we talk about utopia—the movement would be superfluous. The movement could adopt this view under the present realities, but this would be fatal for it and would put the world at risk.

The world is not being divided now, but it is divided still. Let us assume, but with a reasonable reserve, that the movement does not have to prevent the division of the word into two confronted camps, and let us also assume that it does not have to act as it did in the past, as a political factor when it comes to the preservation of independence of countries, because the independence will not be jeopardized by conflicts between interests of great powers and alliances at times when they are building bridges. But it is precisely these bridges that are at stake. Is a world conceived in terms of bipolars and molded by the great in their own image, a more safe and secure world? To a certain extent it is, but not permanently and not for certain.

The world is not just multipolar or polycentric, but, to use perhaps an overused phrase, deeply interdependent; not just regarding the question of war and peace, but equally regarding prosperity, on which its stability depends. It is beyond doubt that within this context, the existing imbalance in the economic and social sphere assumes dramatic proportions.

So, movement is still necessary—despite all changes for the better—to further stimulate and broaden changes, and with a positivistic approach to create conditions to open up unaddressed issues which, despite the overall better relations in the world, are still numerous. We ranked highly the list of priorities regarding efforts to turn the world into a truly stable and safer place."

New world trends question neither the definition of the movement nor its original principles, but put to it the imperative task of speedier and more resolute restructuring. A journalist wrote recently that the movement is facing a vital dilemma: either reforms or extinction. Have things reached that stage?

I believe that they have, Loncar says, although this is an exaggeration. I would rather talk about the following dilemma: reform or marginalization.

Still, the dilemma is of vital importance for the movement, because marginalization—if we would follow the idea to its logical conclusion—would lead to extinction.

After all, the movement resolved the dilemma at the ministerial conference in Nicosia. It decided on reform. Of course, that was a decision in principle, supported by very strong arguements, but the ninth summit will give the final word regarding what kind of movement we want, what kind we need, what kind of movement the present world needs. The summit should give the final word, if we agree that the dilemma is of vital importance.

The summit will surely not provide answers to all questions. No single summit can develop fully the process of reforms. Major transoformations are not achieved by a decree. After all, we have our own experience regarding reforms. We are all for reforms, but reforms in what way? Each has its own legitimate view about the modalities of reforms.

Let us just imagine how a principled orientation can be promoted at the gathering of 102 sovereign countries of the world. Still, all our consultations and documents on the topic, in the spirit of the recommendations of the committee for modernisation of the movement, were, so to speak, received well. The broadest readiness exists. But in essence, the movement is pluralistic, and it functions democratically. All interests, without exception, must be respected, because they are always the interests of a specific equal member. For this reason, it is important for the movement as a whole that each country views all its specific and national interests through the implementation of the nonaligned policy, and with an awareness that full implementation can hardly be achieved without reforming the movement."

There is a lot of talk about modernization within the movement too. Yugoslavia is one of the most active champions of "the turnabout". What would be the essence of a more modern, more contemporary course of activity?

"If we are to summarize its essence in a sentence, Loncar says, it would be to catch up with the times, with its charateristic dynamism, and acceding to one's own options. What does this mean?

First, having the ability to anticipate world changes with all the opportunities and risks they bring, and not just to understand them objectively.

Second, having the ability to act swiftly and efficiently at times which wait for no one, and to build into the activity one's own well-thought-through and well argumented options.

Third, having the ability to act flexibly and constructively, to see other people's interests—frequently very different ones, but nonetheless legitimate—along with one's own interests, and to respect the views of others, which are not infrequently quite different.

Fourth, having the ability to initiate dialogue and not confrontation—constructive solutions instead of appeals—with the east and west, as well as with the north.

Fifth, changing methods and forms of the work of the movement itself; developing methods which will enable it to achieve the qualities I have talked about, and forms which would be more in accordance with needs of the nonaligned countries themselves, as well as with the requirements of the dynamic times. Finally, to change the much criticized and numerous documents which contain much outdated terminology and which have an inappropriate content.

Mathematicians could comfortably draw up the equation: the movement most needed by the world and the movement most acceptable to the world."

If east-west relations are relaxed, north-south relations are not. Economic problems will probably dominate the Belgrade summit. Debts are a hot and constant topic, but another issue is of essential importance. Can any progress be achieved?

"It is true that economic problems will dominate the summit, and this is normal, Loncar said. The aggravation of social tensions in an increasing number of developing countries can practically turn the balance of global stability and jeopardize the positive effects of detente. However, I would not make such a sharp differentiation between the issue of debt—as you put it, a hot and constant topic—and the problem of development and the struggle for new economic relations.

Above all, the debt crisis cannot be separated from the problem of development. It is, so to say, the most obvious example of what is called the widening of the gap in economic development or the halting of growth and development. In fact, the problem of debt and the problem of overall development are a vicious circles. Its logic is very simple: the prices of export goods of the debtor countries are falling, the prices of imports are rising, and debtors are becoming net exporters of capital. Overall investment is hardly at the level required for normal operations; increasingly deep stagnation and regression are the price of the reduced level of economic growth.

The development of economic cooperation on the global level, on the basis of equality, or the struggle for new economic relations, this is one of the basic aims of the movement. Understandably so. However, this is a long-term project, a conception which can be put into practice in the distant future. Who has ever given up privileges voluntarily? Logically, the developed countries do not want to do that.

They must serve their own interests in everything they do, otherwise they would not be developed.

This means that the struggle for new economic relations must adopt a strategy that would enable the developed countries to see that they are to their advantage too. For instance, to begin to achieve a good partnership, developing countries need technology and additional capital. On the other hand, they could supply the industrialized world with strategic raw materials and energy and the industrialized world absorbs one-third of their exports. [sentence as received] This means that the growth of world trade, and thereby production, depends greatly on the less developed part of the world. After all, many prominent economists stress that the less developed part of the world could become a generator of new potential for world expansion.

I believe that progress can be achieved. Clearly, a lot depends on the developing countries too, their ability to affirm themselves as capable partners, which demands, among other things, a more pragmatic attitude—that is, a new mentality appropriate to these times and real opportunities.

The nonaligned talk more about "dialogue" with the important developed countries and those surrounding them. It could be said that the same interest exists on the other side too. Could that be a new quality in international relations?

"That would absolutely be a new quality. I believe, Loncar continues, that it already exists, that this quality is already working by virtue of the fact that the differences in understanding the world between the nonaligned and both world powers and blocs has been reduced. Of course, the differences between the world powers are less prominent. I shall venture to say that we can glimpse a process of converging views from three sides. In such a process, a formal issue of dialogue or a modus of its procedures is less important. Then all paths are open and dialogue is almost constantly present.

It is known that in the past, the movement was hostile, usually for objective reasons, to the great powers, and vice versa. The great powers, each from its own standpoint, reproached the movement for stands which they understood as exclusively directed against them, and within the whole conglomerate there were attacks, "statistics" and "natural alliances".

The world policy evolved. The nonaligned are becoming increasingly aware that reason must prevail in relations with superpowers if they want to achieve something, and the great powers, on their part, cannot dismiss views of such a political factor as the movement if they want to affirm their own policies and give credibilty to mutual rapprochement."

The ministerial meeting here in Harare also discussed financing the nonaligned meetings, especially those at the top level whose organization is cheap. Our public is interested in this issue. What is the latest regarding financing the next summit?

"Contributions are arriving, either technical or financial, Loncar indicates. Several nonaligned countries provided financial contributions. Some even contributed considerable amounts. Some announced their participation, so we are waiting for it to materialize.

Regarding the level of participation at the meeting, what kind of response do you expect for the ninth summit?

"As things stand now, we can say that the greatest number of heads of states or governments so far will be present at the summit. In all, 101 countries will be

present, 10 permanent observers, 20 guest countries, which together with liberation movements and international organizations comes to more than 160 delegations."

The fact that Yugoslavia is organizing the summit for the second time both flatters and obliges. Thereby, for the next 3 years we shall become the presiding member of the movement. This creates new obligations for our country and diplomatic service. Are we preparing for this? Is something changed in our former slightly idealized and slightly campaigning attitude towards the nonaligned?

"The assessment is valid—presiding over the movement, once the summit is over, when the obligations of the host are fulfilled, carries with it important tasks," Loncar says in his reply. "Then it is no longer a case of what an honor it is, but rather how best to meet the obligations and live up to expectations. The foreign affairs service is already making preparations for this, both in terms of cadres and technology, but a great deal will depend in the coming 3 years on other factors in the country as well.

However, I could take issue with you on the second part of your statement on the the question of the diplomatic service. If we have had up until now, as you say, a somewhat idealized, a rather campaign-style attitude towards nonalignment—and that is debatable—it certainly did not originate from the diplomatic service as an instrument of foreign policy.

It is understandable that more intensive work takes place on the eve of important actions or meetings of the movement, but this is still not campaign-style work. As for idealization, can you tell me, since you are professionals, whether you have ever been inclined to idealize your own profession. It is difficult to idealize whatever constitutes everyday life. The policy of nonalignment is an everyday reality for the Yugoslav diplomatic service, and an inseparable part of the profession," said Federal Secretary Budimir Loncar in conclusion.

Drnovsek Views Importance

LD1908021489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0107 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 19 (TANJUG)—The present tension-easing processes have thus far had no major effect on the complex of international economic problems—with this in mind, one of the basic priorities of nonalignment should be the resolving of the numerous economic problems of the world today, Yugoslav Presidency President Janez Drnovsek told the Yugoslav English-language periodical for foreign economic relations "JOURNAL-EXPORT."

Drnovsek's interview appears in a special supplement devoted to the ninth summit of the non-aligned nations, scheduled to be held in Belgrade from September 4 through 7.

The non-aligned countries are in the preparatory phase for the forthcoming ninth summit faced with the very delicate task of proposing and adopting those solutions which will direct the movement towards a more efficacious fight for its visionary goals—the creation of a more peaceful, secure, humane and democratic world, Drnovsek said.

We are sure that the current processes of detente, together with an orientation towards negotiating and accord-making, and increasing readiness for finding solutions to focuses of crises, as well as the awareness about the necessity of progress in the fields of human rights and the protection of the environment, cannot develop into a global restructuring of international relations without the participation of all international factors, especially the non-aligned countries, which make up almost two-thirds of the world, Drnovsek said.

All these questions cannot be tackled without, but especially not against the interests of, the non-aligned and developing countries, Drnovsek emphasized.

The Yugoslav president pointed out that the non-aligned would continue to be involved in promoting the new climate of the easing of tension and dialogue in international political relations, disarmament and finding solutions for the focuses of crises, in order for a vision of a safer world to be realized, just as they have done from the very first summit in Belgrade in 1961.

In the situation where the world is increasingly interconnected and experiencing growing cooperation, the possibility exists of these goals being realized more rapidly by way of a more flexible stance by the Non-aligned Movement, through the opening of dialogue and the linking of the movement with other factors in the international community, including the superpowers, economic integrations and other factors of international relations.

All this indicates that the summit in Belgrade will be one of the most important gatherings of the non-aligned countries and that it will represent a new step in the development of the policy and philosophy of nonalignment, Drnovsek concluded.

Loncar Praises Preparations

LD2108103789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo Croatian 1201 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—Political and organizational preparations for the nonaligned summit in Belgrade have successfully entered their final stage. Representatives of the institutions of those most responsible for the work of the conference established at today's meeting in Belgrade that Yugoslavia has prepared well for the holding of the ninth conference of the Nonaligned Movement.

At a meeting of the Federal Economic Council commission for preparations for the summit and members of the operational staff of the conference, Federal Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar recalled that the forthcoming meeting will be the largest of the nonaligned summits to date. It has been confirmed that the total of 171 participating members of delegations and observers will include the largest number of heads of state and government to date.

Praising the preparations so far, about which he said that they have mostly been carried out, Loncar stressed that the Nonaligned Movement at the forthcoming conference will start out on its "historical innovation." This has come about after recognition of the necessity to adapt the movement to the needs of the modern world, the federal secretary said, heralding "a new beginning in the work of the movement."

Belgrade will be one of the world centers in international relations not only during the summit bu also over the coming 3 years, Budimir Loncar stressed. At the same time, this is also an event which confirms the vitality of Yugoslavia on the international scene, and also not to be doubted is the positive impact which this world event will have on our internal developments.

The problems of telecommunications, accommodation, the transfer of guests from the airport, the work of journalists, as well as other questions connected with the successful work of the summit have now been resolved virtually in their entirety.

Assurances that on the day the conference is opened everything should function well in the host city were also given today by Milorad Unkovic, chairman of the Belgrade Assembly Executive Council.

Argentina's Menem on Summit

LD2208061289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0540 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, August 21 (TANJUG)—The nonaligned countries are increasingly present in the settlement of international problems, Argentinian President Carlos Menem said in an interview to the Yugoslav News Agency TANJUG.

Such a situation is the result of the development of political consciousness and new technologies which have invalidated the concept of the existance of peripheral and central states, powerful and under-developed, big and small, Menem said.

The occasion for the interview was the ninth non-aligned summit to be held in Belgrade from September 4 to 7.

Menem believes that the realization that the Non-Aligned Movement should adjust to the present situation in the world, like Europe, Asia or Latin America, is why member-countries have of late frequently stressed the need for streamlining, strengthening the role and the effectiveness of the movement.

Menem claims there is no Argentinian solution to the debt problem, which is universal, and insists on the need to establish a new international economic order which will transcend the concept of division of the world into "North" and "South".

Menem expressed his countrys readiness to "creatively contribute to the success" of the forthcoming summit.

Police Brutality Against Muzevic Investigated

Slovene LC Protests Brutality

LD2108174989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1608 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 21 Aug (TANJUG)—We protest most resolutely the action by members of the Belgrade police force, the security organs of the city which in a week's time will be the host of the nonaligned summit, says today's statement by the Slovene League of Communists (LC) Central Committee Presidium in connection with the news that members of the Belgrade City Secretariat for Internal Affairs beat up member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium Boris Muzevic a few days ago.

The statement by the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium says:

Policemen, members of the City Secretariat for Interal Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia on Thursday 17 August 1989 in Novi Beograd, stopped the official vehicle of the LCY Central Committee which was being driven by Boris Muzevic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. During the procedure of checking his identification papers the policemen beat up Boris Muzevic brutally, and yet after 4 days we have not yet received any kind of public or other official information from the responsible organs.

The Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium received this news with astonishment and anger, it is added in the statement, which says that in a law-governed state the beating up of a citizen cannot be a routine police act, and circumstance gives some justification to the suspicion that the reasons for the violence of the police were of a political nature. This event will certainly have serious political consequences at a time when political and nationalist passions in the state are already extremely inflamed. This is why it is all the more incomprehensible that the responsible organs, right up to today, have not officially informed either the public or the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, says the statement, making the assessment that these are the organs which should jointly prevent this incident from being a pouring of oil on the flames of political and social conflicts.

We protest most resolutely the behaviour of members of the Belgrade police force, the security organs of the city that in a week's time is to be host to the nonaligned countries' summit. We protest the degradation of human dignity, the statement adds, the trampling underfoot of fundamental human rights and freedoms, the arbitrariness and violence, the violation of legality and the principles of the law-governed state, and we wonder whether this is not a question of some new adventuristic step in the strengthening of the rule of violence over those who think differently, which in recent months has been trying to gain legitimacy.

The statement demands that there should be a detailed investigation into the circumstances in which this infamous action occurred and that the public should be acquainted with these. It also demands that on the basis of the established facts proceedings should be set in motion to establish the responsibility of those who directly took part in this act and of their superior organs. We expect an unequivocal political stance to be adopted on this and a condemnation of it by the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, which up to now has always been very quick to adopt political stances on events in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and elsewhere in the country. Without this clear condemnation, the statement says, cooperation and common action in the LCY organs will be hindered.

The Slovene LC Central Committee demands and expects the LCY Central Committee Presidium to take a clear stance toward this event and condemn it, to demand from the responsible organs information and a public stance, and establish how members of the LCY Central Committee, its Presidium and other federal organs in Belgrade can have their personal integrity and safety ensured, and so at least maintain the minimal conditions for normal work, says the statement by the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium.

Police Deny Beating Party Official

LD2208035289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0207 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, August 21 (TANJUG)—The Internal Affairs Secretariat of Yugoslavia's Republic of Serbia on Monday issued a statement denying claims that senior party official Boris Muzevic was beaten last Thursday by Belgrade policemen.

The statement was prompted by a protest published earlier today by the republic of Slovenia's party leadership, whose representative on the League of Communists Central Committee Presidency Muzevic is.

The Secretariat statement confirmed that a car driven by Muzevic was stopped on Thursday by a traffic police patrol, but denied that force was used against him.

The statement said that the traffic police had tried to stop Muzevic's car speeding at 90 km per hour in the part of the city where speed is limited to 40 km per hour. After twice disobeying the order to stop, Muzevic was forced to do so by two patrolmen on motorcycles.

In addition to having committed what was described as trafic offence of a more serious nature, Muzevic did not have on him the required personal papers (identity card and driving licence), he refused to take the breath-test and insulted the policemen, the statement says.

The doctor who examined Muzevic on Friday found scratches and a hemotoma below his left eye and three bruises on his chest.

The statement claims, however, that Muzevic did not complain about the conduct of the policemen, who claim not to have used force against him. On the basis of inquiries so far, it could not be ascertained whether Muzevic was maltreated and whether the injuries were inflicted by the policemen, says the statement.

Further on Alledged Beating

AU2208102489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia has issued a statement which claims that Belgrade militiamen beat up Boris Muzevic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Serbia has issued a statement regarding the intervention of the traffic police patrol. The statement says that on the basis of the available evidence and the talks conducted so far, it is not possible to establish that Muzevic had been maltreated. Here are some details of the two statements.

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia claims that the workers of the City Secretariat for Internal Affairs on Thursday 17 August in Novi Belgrade stopped the official car of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia which was being driven by Boris Muzevic. During the procedure of checking his identification papers, the statement issued by the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia claims, the militiamen beat up Boris Muzevic brutally, and yet 4 days after this incident there is still no public or any other official kind of information from the responsible organs.

The statement demands, inter alia, a detailed investigation into the circumstances under which this infamous action occurred, and that the public be informed about the findings.

The Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs has issued a statement about this.

The statement says that following Boris Muzevic's complaint about the conduct of the Belgrade City Secretariat for Internal Affairs during traffic control, the Secretariat has examined the circumstances under which the incident occurred.

During the radar control in Novi Belgrade, around 1930, it was established that the Volkswagen Golf with registration number BG 890-112 was traveling at the speed of 90 km per hour although the speed limit was only 40 km per hour. A traffic policeman tried to stop the driver indicating to him that he pull over to the side. The driver shouted that he was in hurry. He stopped at the traffic lights and drove off when the lights turned green. Two traffic policemen pursued him on motorcycle and stopped him some 50 meters down the road.

After that, the statement of the Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs says, on being requested to show his papers, the driver only showed his car papers and travel order, and said that he did not have his driving license or identity card on him. The statement also says that the driver looked tired, that he was unshaven, and gave the impression of being under the influence of alcohol. The driver stepped out of the car but refused to undergo a breath test. He said, and we quote: How dare you ask me to do this? Are you not ashamed of yourself? Do you know who I am? He also said that he worked in the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, that has a salary of $1,000 [a month and that the militiaman's low salary cannot compensate for his lost time [as heard].

After that the driver, that is to say Muzevic, got into the militia car, which proceeded toward Bezanijska Kosa. The head of the patrol decided, since Muzevic did not have any personal documents and since he had committed several offenses, to take the driver to the City Secretariat for Internal Affairs. Another reason for this course of action was the fact that for his official car, Muzevic had an old travel order which did not specify the destination.

As they proceeded toward the City Secretariat for Internal Affairs, Muzevic suggested that they should go the Central Committee building, where he was recognized by Milorad Tesic, internal security worker from the Militia Brigade of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs. According to Tesic's statement, the militiamen behaved correctly toward Muzevic, and that from close vicinity he did not notice any visible injuries. He also said that Muzevic did not complain that he was being maltreated or beaten up by the militiamen. After that, Muzevic, the security man in the Central Committee building, and the militiamen left for Muzevic's apartment where they collected his papers.

The following day Muzevic was examined by a doctor in his office, the statement adds. It was established that Muzevic had a visible 2-centimeter scratch under his left eye, and a contusion measuring about 3 by 1.5 centimeters. On the top left half of his back there were three bruises one under the other.

When interviewed, the militiamen stated that they had not maltreated Muzevic in any way, nor had the head of the militia patrol, Petko Gavric, beaten him up.

On the basis of inquiries so far, it was not possible to establish whether Muzevic had been maltreated. The Belgrade Secretariat for Internal Affairs says it will establish all relevant facts in a further investigation.

Experts Fail To Find Radioactivity Near Kladovo

AU2108145489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] There is no radioactive pollution in Kladovo. The report of the Dragomir Karajovic Institute for Industrial Medicine and Radiological Protection shows that the situation is also satisfactory in other parts of Serbia.

This is the essence of a report that has been drafted following rumors that there has been an increase in radioactivity in Kladovo and the surrounding area. This report will also be presented to the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly.

Sundic Views Iranian Rafsanjani's Speech

AU1808195189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] The world will probably receive the speech the new Iranian head of state Hashemi Rafsanjani made in parliament as a great encouragement. Here is a commentary by Milika Sundic:

The first speech the newly elected head of the Iranian state Hashemi Rafsanjani has made in parliament is more than encouraging, because it represents a great change from some fundamental pledges by Imam Khomeini. In Rafsanjani's opinion, it is most important to create conditions for more dynamic economic activity and an improvement in the standard of living and, with regard to the foreign political sphere, to take all necessary steps to prevent a war.

These words of the head of the Iranian state on the eve of the anniversary of the end of the war with Iraq are a (?reliable) hint that the Islamic Republic is entering a new stage of development in both the internal and international spheres. In other words, Iran will be more active in both spheres than it has been to date, and this implies creating more balanced relations with both superpowers.

At the moment, relations with the United States are of special importance for Iran, not only because of the Iranian interest in having the problem of hostages in

Lebanon solved favorably, but also because of the Iranian claims to its confiscated property in the United States, which is estimated to involve around $12 billion.

Of course, Iran is vitally interested in the easing of tension in the Gulf region, that is, the reduction of the American war fleet in that part of the world.

The fact that Rafsanjani has not mentioned Iraq at all does not signify by any means that, in the months to come, the fate of peace in the Gulf will be left to mediators alone. In fact, Iran can be expected to accept any constructive initiative made by Iraq, particularly with regard to peaceful traffic in the Gulf and the regulating of disagreements about the Shatt al-'Arab. The United Nations could also be involved in this issue because, as things stand, the conditions for implementing all provisions of the Security Council resolution pertaining to (?ending the war) in the Gulf have not been so favorable in the past 12 months as they are now. The two countries' troops have still not been withdrawn to the internationally recognized borders, nor has the exchange of prisoners of war been carried out, and it is known that these are the two basic prerequsites for solving all disputes between the two countries.

Of course, relations between Iran and Iraq are still very sensitive, although it seems, and this is most important, that neither of the two sides has any interest in prolonging such a situation. Moreover, it seems that their responsible representatives could even sit at the negotiating table in the foreseeable future without the UN mediation.

With regard to relations with the United States, there are still many unclear points. True, the Bush administration is making certain efforts, but they are still insufficient for a more radical turn in behavior toward Tehran. It seems that (?America) is still a slave to the past and, if one is to believe feelings manifested in Tehran, the Americans are not expected to easily free themselves from the inheritance of the previous administrations. What they would have to do does not imply making concessions to Tehran, so the future relations between the two countries depend solely on the goodwill of the Americans.

Of course, Iran would also have to give in on many points, although the speech the head of the Iranian state made in parliament should already be considered as the first more significant step (?in that direction).

Drnovsek Denies Kosovo Writers Imprisoned

LD1908063389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0530 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, August 18 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav State Presidency Dr Janez Drnovsek has replied to a letter by the German Writers Union of Stuttgart, by pointing out that the group of Kosovo writers mentioned in the letter are not in jail.

On July 20 this year, the German Writers Union addressed the letter to Dr Drnovsek requesting the release from jail of Kosovo writers Redzep Cosja, Esad Mekuli, Ibrahim Kadriju, Zenun Celaj, Agim Vinca, Liman Matosi, Ibrahim Rugova, Skeljzen Malici and Redzep Ismalji.

Letters of the same content were sent by German writers to the Yugoslav Embassy in Bonn and the Writers Association of Serbia.

In its reply early this month, the association said that none of the Kosovo writers mentioned "has either been, or is now in jail."

"Rest assured that had it been true, our voice would have been heard, without waiting for anyone to caution us," the Serbian writers organization said in its letter.

Book Blames Underdevelopment on Kosovo Leadership

LD2108124989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1038 GMT 21 Aug 89

["'White Book on Kosovo': Provincial Leadership To Blame for Low Development Rate"—headline]

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 21 (TANJUG)—The main reasons for the widening of the development gap between the province of Kosovo and the developed parts of Yugoslavia do not lie in insufficient investment—for investment has been substantial—but in an extremely high birth rate, an erroneous economic structure, misplaced investments, low productivity, extravagance and an erroneous development strategy. In view of the fact that the Yugoslav republics and provinces have been completely independent in their investment decision-making since the 1960s, the leadership of this province within the republic of Serbia is to blame for Kosovo's erroneous investment structure and development strategy—Academician Kosta Mihailovic says in the "White Book on Kosovo" published by the Medjunarodna Politika of Belgrade.

He says that the lag in Kosovo's GNP behind the country's average in the past three decades would have been much lower than the actual 20.8 percent had the population increase rate (one of the highest in Europe and the world) been within the country's average instead of the over 2.5 percent recorded in the period. Hence, the high population increase rate in the province has been chiefly responsible for the lag in its development, as most clearly evident in the 1981-1987 period.

All attempts to show that the high population increase rate adversely affects development have been likely to meet with ideologically hostile stands, Academician Mihailovic says.

Mihailovic further claims that apart from the high birth rate, other factors influencing the low development in the province have been misplaced investments and low productivity.

In his assessment, the province's economy has been burdened by an unfavourable structure, based on capital intensive branches which require large initial investments and long periods for the return on investment, and offer little chance of increasing employment.

Mihailovic believes that the province should have focused instead on low-investment employment-intensive processing industries.

Kosovo on State Presidency Stabilization Measures
LD2108193189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1527 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Excerpt] Pristina, 21 Aug (TANJUG)—At a session held today ,the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo established that special measures taken by the SFRY Presidency to stabilize the overall situation in Kosovo have made a significant contribution to creating conditions for the subjects of social self-protection to work more eficiently in preventing and curbing more speedily activity by Albanian enemy forces from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism, and in eliminating the causes and consequences of this activity in order to stabilize the situation in the province more quickly.

The Presidency is also reported to have judged that despite visible positive results, the overall political and security situation remains complex, demanding even greater mobility by all subjects of social self-protection, as well as other subjects of society at all levels, so that the situation is normalized. [passage omitted]

Vojvodina Party Discusses Conference Preparations
AU2108173489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] The League of Communists of Vojvodina today discussed the preparations for the 19th extraordinary conference of the League of Communists of Vojvodina. The session also decided that the extraordinary conference be held from 21 to 23 November. The session of the Provincial Committee was also attended by Dobroslav Bjeletic, executive secretary of the League of Communists of Serbia. Here is a report from Nada Zamurovic:

Presenting the report on and the main characteristics of the activities of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, Emilija Bruner-Bala said:

[Begin Bruner-Bala recording] I think that one could say that with our total work we have contributed to the positive changes in the total sociopolitical climate in the province. There is a well-developed and evident awareness about the need for unity and togetherness in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia, awareness that this is the necessary prerequisite for overcoming the present extremely great social and economic problems. [end recording]

Emilija Bruner-Bala said that the prevailing orientation in Vojvodina concerns reform changes in the economy, and that inflation and other elements that constitute the crisis, especially disagreements among the leaderships, are devaluing these efforts.

Jovan Juric, Miloje Milojevic, Dragisa Slijepcevic, Zivko Sokovack and Marko Cvijan sharply criticized the report on the activities of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina between the two extraordinary conferences. They said that the report was too general, that it had too many phrases, and that it does not represent the real picture of activities, successes, mistakes, and problems with which the League of Communists of Vojvodina had to deal in the period since the introduction of a new policy and a new sociopolitical climate in Vojvodina.

Dobroslav Bjeletic, executive secretary of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, also took part in the discussion. He spoke about the preparations for the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia.

[Begin Bjeletic recording] I stress that [word indistinct] documents are not a (?product) of [word indistinct] discussions by narrow, intellectual political circles and individuals, but that they have been fermenting for some time in the contradictory being of Serbia and Yugoslavia through a struggle of the augmented [word indistinct] social forces which exerted strong pressure for decisive changes in socioeconomic and statist relations and the bureaucratic blockage of self-management. They are a result of a collective action, a more profound psychological analysis of social practice and especially of planning the future and (?creating) opportunities to overcome the crisis situation. [end recording]

After that, Nedeljko Sipovac, president of the Provincial Committee, summed up the preparations for the 19th extraordinary conference of the League of Communists of Vojvodina.

[Begin Sipovac recording] Proceeding from the fact that the confidence in the League of Communists is not (?granted forever), we have to justify this confidence by our everyday activities and results. We have opted for political pluralism. For the League of Communists this means the need to continuously develop itself so that with its actions and ideas it can confirm the need for its involvement as the leading ideopolitical force.

The place and time in which we live have fully justified the demands of the Vojvodina Communists, despite numerous attempts to belittle it. The total activities of the League of Communists of Vojvodina on thorough preparations and convening of the 19th extraordinary conference of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, and its active participation in the preparations and convening of the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia and the 14th extraordinary congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia must reflect our contribution, our efforts, in making them what the Communists expected from them, namely a turning point which will mark an end to the problems, divisions, crises, and the road back to the development of Yugoslavia as a socialist federal community of equal peoples and nationalities. [end recording]

This was an excerpt from the closing speech by Nedeljko Sipovac, president of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina.

LC Secretary Reports

LD2108212789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1428 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 21 Aug (TANJUG)—The Vojvodina League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee decided at its meeting today that the 19th extraordinary Vojvodina LC conference, the highest level of gathering of the province's communists, will be held 21-23 November this year in Novi Sad. The meeting also adopted a decision establishing the number, composition, and method of election for members of the Vojvodina LC organs. It was proposed that 95 members should be elected to the new Provincial Committee, 15 to the Statutory Commission of the Vojvodina LC, and the same number to the Supervisory Commission of the Vojvodina LC. The stand was adopted that more than half of the members of future organs of the Vojvodina LC must be production workers, specialists, or agricultural workers.

At the center of attention at today's meeting of the Vojvodina LC Provincial committee was the consideration and establishing of a draft report on the work of the Provincial Committee and the basic characteristics of the activities of the Vojvodina LC in the period between the 19-20 January extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC and the forthcoming 19th extraordinary conference, the highest level of gathering, which is to be held 21-23 November. A wide-ranging explanation of this document was given at today's meeting by Emilija Bala-Bruner, secretary of the Vojvodina LC Provincial committee, and, together with the opinions and proposals put forward at today's meeting of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, the proposed party document will be sent for public discussion to all the party organizations in the province. This discussion should be concluded by mid-October. [passage omitted]

Emilija Bala-Bruner said we are witnesses to constant attacks and unreasoned accusations from other environments on the leaderships of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] Vojvodina. Constructive proposals and ideas on ways out of the crisis receive direct rejection, with no readiness for a calm and considered assessment of what is being suggested. There is no readiness for cooperation and constructive dialogue on the crucial social problems. Nationalism and chauvinist passions are increasing in the wide sphere. Blockades and resistance to comprehensive social reform can be felt to a significant extent, said Emilija Bruner-Bala.

The absence of a clear and concrete antiinflation program, she said, prevents the implementation of reform commitments and the more successful solution of the increasingly acute social problems, because of a lack of permanent systemic solutions and stable and equal conditions, as well as a lack of united measurs for business activity on a country-wide level. Agriculture is in an increasingly difficult position, which is provoking the justified dissatisfaction of agricultural workers.

The secretary of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium paid particular attention to ideopolitical differentiation in relation to the proponents of separatist and autonomist polices, stressing that it is precisely this differentiation which has contributed to restoring the standing of the Vojvodina LC and people's confidence in it and to the affirmation and strengthening of the system's organs and institutions. However, ideopolitical and work differentiation has not been of the same intensity everywhere. It has been conducted more resolutely in the LC than in other sociopolitical organizations, and it has met with noticeable delays in the judiciary, managment organs, economic chambers, and so on.

In particular, she noted, it is worth saying that despite the unfavorable situation in the country, intranational relations in Vojvodina are good and stable. This is the best repudiation of the theory of opponents of the new course in the SR of Serbia and the SAP of Vojvodina which maintains that the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia will limit and constrict the rights of members of individual nations and nationalities in Vojvodina. [passage omitted]

Nedeljko Sipovac, president of the LC Provincial Committee, said that in the implementation of economic reform we have met with many forms of resistance. These come from those people who are not prepared to accept any test of their own knowledge and capabilities in the new reform and market conditions. For this reason they are resorting to stories about how economic reform necessarily means a large number of workers being left without jobs.

In today's conditions, when a large number or workers already live on subsistance standard of living level, a fear of reform is appearing and with it, a fear of what it may bring.

As communists we have not done enough to uncover these speculations, to show clearly that this is a case of a struggle for the monopolistic and privileged positions of those who put them forward. As communists we are duty-bound to say that there is no way out of the existing situation without economic reform, to say that it is a way out of our current difficulties and an opening of prospects for a better life, Sipovac said.

In the conditions of such a rise in the rate of inflation few people can be successful. Inflation destroys even the efforts of those who work well, and those who are prepared to accept market conditions for business activity, Sipovac said.

In the Provincial Committee's discussion of ideopolitical issues in the economic position of health care in the province it was assessed that health care is in a state of material collapse, with such a degree of economic inefficiency and financial impotence that the normal functioning of the basic operation of this activity and its professional obligations are brought into question. [passage omitted]

The Provincial Committee was informed today of the decision of the Statutory Commission of the Serbian LC to commute the decision to expel Janko Drca from the LCY to a final warning as an ideopolitical measure.

In the opinion of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee "the commuted decision inadequately corresponds to the seriousness and the degree of responsibility of Janko Drca" so the Provincial Committee sent an appeal of this decision to the LCY Statutory Commission.

Further on Proposed Belgrade Farmers' Rally

No Official Macedonian Stand

AU2108145889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Aug 89 p 3

[I. K. report: "There Is no Response to the Meeting"]

[Text] Skopje—A stand has still not been taken in Macedonia on the meeting of agricultural workers to be held in Belgrade, and at this moment it is extremely uncertain whether anyone from Macedonia will be attending it in an organized way. The Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People and the republican federation of cooperatives have not received one single application so far. It has been agreed in the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Macedonia that the situation in agriculture is really serious and that the agricultural workers' demands are justified, but there are also doubts that such a difficult situation can be resolved with meetings, especially since the Federal Executive Council has announced new measures which are realistically expected to produce solutions that will satisfy the agricultural workers.

Meeting Not To Take Place

AU1808165189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] According to what Jelena Milojevic, president of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, told our journalist Momcilo Boskovic, the farmers meeting announced a long time ago and planned to be held in Belgrade on 28 August, will not be held.

[Begin recording] [Boskovic] Comrade Milojevic, what have you, the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People, decided about the meeting.

[Milojevic] Before the Federal Conference, that is, its Presidium could make this decision, it had to have the opinions of republican and provincial conferences of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People. Those who replied either said that they are not in favor of the meeting, or they said that they want the problem to be solved by the institutions of the political system, but if others are in favor of the meeting, they will have nothing against it.

[Boskovic] Reading the press, one gets the impression that some people are for and some against the meeting. It seems that if we tried to organize a joint Yugoslav manifestation of any kind, even if it had something to do with the Students' Vacation Association, we would not be able to decide upon it.

[Milojevic] Well, it seems that many things, even some joint economic interests, have become politicized, and even, I would say, somehow influenced by daily politics. Personally, I have done everything I could to have this discontent solved within the instituions of the political system. We shall now see whether these measures the Federal Executive Council has now proposed, which will be submitted to the SFRY Assembly, will conform with our aims.

[Boskovic] Will the meeting be held or will it not be held?

[Milojevic] I think that the date of the meeting is very inconvenient, because, as you know, special traffic arrangements will be introduced in Belgrade at that time because of the summit of the Nonaligned Movement. We must organize this most significant international manifestation with dignity and play good hosts to it, therefore, we are trying to postpone the farmers' meeting for the time being. If the measures of the Federal Executive Council and the SFRY Assembly conform with the

stances of the Federal Conference and the demands voiced at the Novi Sad meeting, then I think there will be no need to hold this meeting. [end recording]

Trade Unions Demand Economic Policy Change

LD1808211889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1315 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Aug (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Belgrade Trade Union Council has sent a demand to the Serbian trade unions and the trade union organization of Yugoslavia, calling on them to urgently ask the competent organs of government, particularly the Federal Executive Council, to change the economic policy because of the untenable social position of workers.

The Belgrade Trade Union Council Presidium, which was debating the living standards of working people, insisted that anti-inflationary measures should be adopted as soon as possible, that the burdens on the economy should be eased, and that a combined system of social and material benefits should be worked out for the categories of citizens suffering the greatest hardship.

Milan Nikolic stressed the SFRY Assembly must recognize the situation and endorse decisions which will remove the causes of workers' dissatisfaction. If this does not happen, the workers will "organize themselves to resolve the problems and will not hold back as they have done until now."

In the discussion, it was noted that every 50th citizen of Belgrade receives social assistance—and a not insignificant amount—while at higher political levels, national relations and the power struggle are being discussed. In the discussion of future changes in the political system, the participants in today's session called in particular for the introduction of a chamber of labor in the Yugoslav Assembly, because this would, they said, represent a guarantee of the rule of the working class.

Niksic Meeting To Set Demands for Government

AU1908183089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Niksic is ready for the social protest meeting of the people of Montenegro to be held tomorrow. It is expected that over 50,000 people will gather in Niksic at [words indistinct]. Our correspondent Jagos Stojanovic reports:

The text of the message addressed to 16 of the most prominent and most responsible institutions of the republic and the country, beginning of course with the state presidencies, contains (?20 points) of social and political nature. (?It is expected that after the speeches by) Miodrag Damjanovic, president of the organizational committee; Professor (Milovan Ljubovic) [words indistinct]; Branislav Kovacevic, pensioner of Titograd; and Ljubisa Stankovic, member of the Presidency of the republic, the demands will be expanded.

(?It is requested that) one should urgently (?embark on) constitutional changes in the country, because the present solutions block the implementation of the reforms adopted, so that the functions of the federation will be defined and those provisions that (?lead to) a confederation be abolished. A unified taxation system in the country and a single Yugoslav market are demanded. The fifth point of the Niksic message (?prepared for tomorrow) is that a unified and comprehensive anti-inflation program (?be) urgently adopted. The (?next demands are) also specific: to take away the natural monopoly rent and to subsidize basic foods.

(?A further demand is) that we should be prepared for [words indistinct], and that the Montenegrin economy should be restructured, the technobureaucratic blocades be eliminated, the levies on the economy be reduced, [words indistinct].

It is said that officials should perform the duties for which they have been elected, and should not sow discord among the peoples and nationalities. (?Further on,) one demands payments of foreign exchange losses to Montenegro on time. Finally, the proposal of the organizational committee of workers' Niksic is that it be stated: We announce to all the citizens of Yugoslavia that there are no more urgent interests than (?to serve) our motherland.

Serbian Orthodox Feast Celebrated in Bosnia

AU1808200289 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 14 Aug 89 pp 1,4

[I. Nosic, M. Mujagic report: "Was This Only a Church Ceremony?"]

[Text] Knezina—Freedom-loving Romanija, or more precisely the hamlet of Knezina, in which 70 percent of the inhabitants are Muslims, was the venue of a dignified feast of the Serbian Orthodox Church on Sunday [13 August]. In the square in front of the church, a liturgy conducted by a bishop and a memorial service for the Kosovo battle heroes were held in the presence of some 15,000 faithful people, and as many were present in the surrounding meadows and under canopies. The existing church became a monastery, joined to the Hilendar Monastery.

The gathering was attended by Bishop Nikolaj of Dalmatia, as an envoy of Patriarch German; Archpriest Milan Jankovic, on behalf of the Holy Synod; and Bishop Vasilije of Tuzla and Zvornik. Zvonko Stenek, president of the Republican Executive Committee Commission for Relations With Religious Communities, attended on behalf of the Bosnia-Hercegovina state organs dealing with the religious communities, who were co-organizers of the meeting. His colleagues of the

respective commissions of Serbia and Kosovo also dignified the celebrations with their presence. No Islamic religious community dignitaries were noticed. Luka Marketic, father superior of Bosnian Franciscans, also attended the service.

First an auction was held for the sponsor [kum] of the monastery. It began at 2 million dinars and ended at 370 million. The honor of carrying the banner with the cross cost 150 million dinars. The auctioneer, a priest, most frequently used the sentence: "Have we dug into our pockets, brothers?"

The gathering was opened by Bishop Vasilije, who repeatedly stressed that this was an exclusively religious feast. He was nevertheless forced to interrupt the service so as to warn those present: "Those who find it boring go away. Let them not disturb those of us honoring the name of God." This in itself indicates that some people were present who did not especially appreciate religion. How else could one explain the fact that despite the bishop's pleas, some people continued to smoke and keep their heads covered? This involved at least a disparagement of the religious feelings of others, if nothing else.

It was obvious that the feast ran along two parallel paths which were completely different: one in front of the church and one under the canopies, and probably for that reason there was a clash between the voices praising God and the voice of a singer who strove with all her might to drown out another singing colleague under a neighboring canopy. Not counting three or four processions (they all followed the same pattern: two persons carrying the church banner and the Yugoslav flag headed the procession, followed by an inscribed banner, and followed by one of the faithful carrying the picture of Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia), there was nothing that did not fit into a religious framework. Under the marquees, the picture was quite different. In one of them, strikingly named "Diskont," a picture of Slobodan Milosevic dominated the scene and there were shouts of, "Slobo, Serb, one Constitution, one Serbia," and songs like this one: "Who says, who tells the lie that Serbia has no sea? It has its sea as long as Montenegro exists."

It is also incomprehensible that pictures of a communist like Slobodan Milosevic were carried at a religious feast; one cannot understand what his picture means when it is surrounded by pictures of saints and is inscribed, "Milosevic, Serbian Obilic" [Milos Obilic, hero of the Kosovo battle in 1389] and why there was not a single flag of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia- Hercegovina present.

It is also unclear whether there is any place in a religious service for a statement like the one by Archpriest Milan Jankovic, who called the events at a similar feast a few years ago an act that was difficult to comprehend as democratic (one could guess from his words that Bosnia-Hercegovina organs sentenced some participants for something they had done), but it is easy to discern that his assessment of the "inaccurate statements that are maliciously attributed to us...and the dishonorable adversaries who attack us" belong to the worldly sphere which is politically topical at this moment.

We have learned that 23 buses arrived from Kosovo and all of passengers traveled free.

A cultural and art program was performed at the end, and a people's feast followed.

'Hostile' Croatian Slogans Appear in Imotski

LD1908162289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1255 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Split, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—Hostile Croatian slogans appeared again in Imotski. "Long live Pavelic", "Long live the independent state of Croatia", and several other similar sinister messages were daubed in oil paint on the asphalt of the Imotski bypass, in the town center itself, and on a private garage and stairway.

At an extraordinary meeting of the municipal committee for all-people's defense and social self-protection, there was the sharpest condemnation of this new attempt to introduce disquiet among the people of the Imotski region, and a meeting of the Imotski League of Communists Municipal Committee Presidium has been convened for 21 August, at which there will be discussion of the latest attacks on the brotherhood and unity of the Croatian and Serbian population in this region.

The Imotski secretariat for internal affairs is looking for the perpetrators.